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ABSTRACT

When the Berlin Wall (East Germany) came down, it symbolically foretold the end of the Soviet Union domination of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. This resource guide examines the process toward democratization occurring in those regions. The guide updates the available classroom material on the democratic process. It is divided into three sections: (1) "Promises and Challenges" (contains five essays and nine lessons); (2) "Voices of Transition" (contains eight essays and eight lessons); and (3) "Fostering a Democratic Dialogue" (contains 3 essays and eight lessons). Includes six maps. Appended are: (1) Comprehensive Social Studies Assessment Project Standards; (2) CSSAP--Portfolio Project; (3) C. Title VI Centers with Teacher Resources; and (4) D. Democracy Education Exchange Project (DEEP). (BT)

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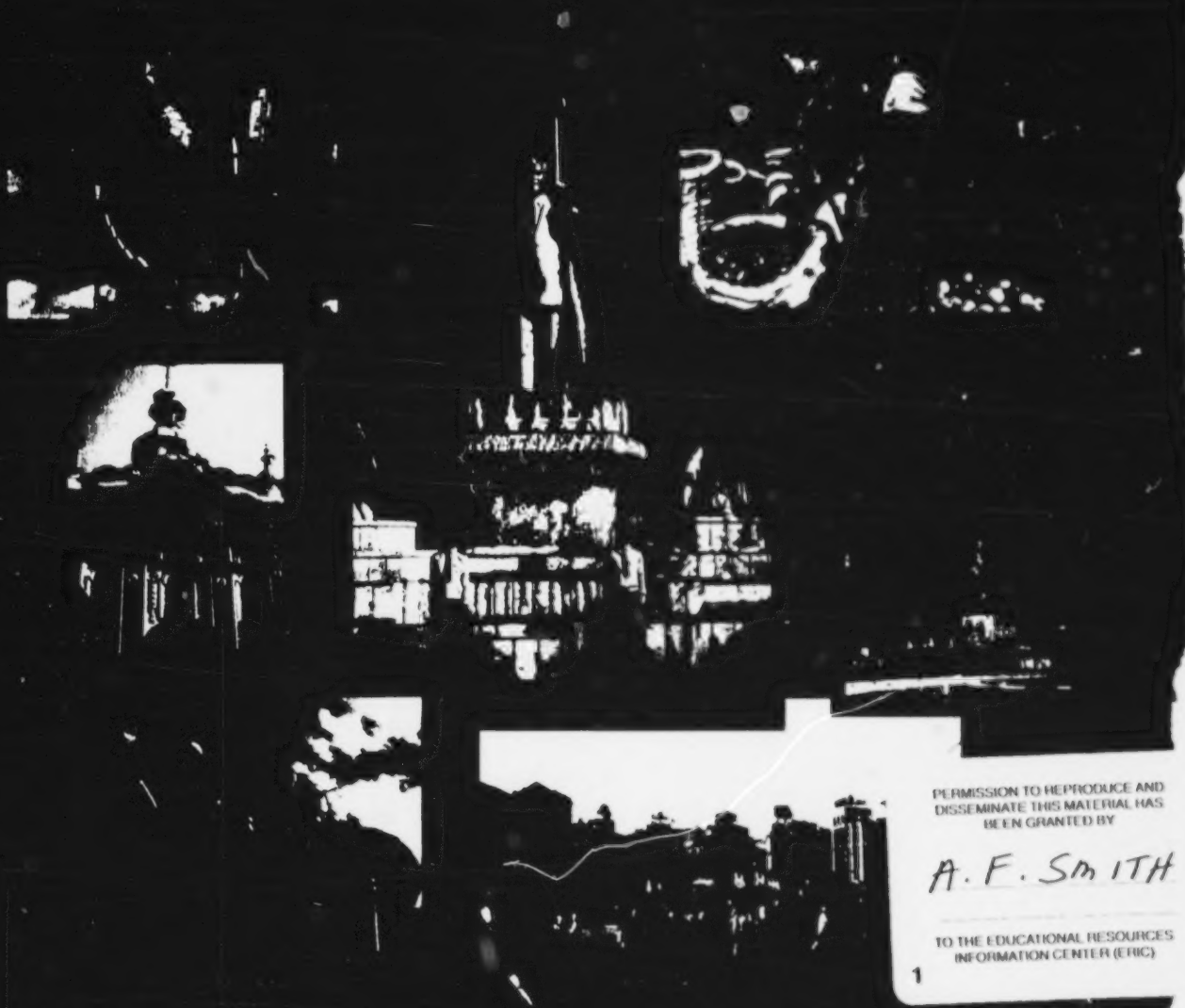
The Democratic Process

Promises and Challenges



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The Democratic Process: Promises and Challenges

A resource guide produced for the Democracy Education Exchange Project (DEEP)

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Council of Chief State School Officers

Social Science Education Consortium • Street Law, Inc.

Funded through a grant from the United States Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement

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Preface

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 and subsequent events, proved once again H.G. Wells' pronouncement that "Human history is more and more a race between education and catastrophe." Today, the education that is crucial is that which promotes and strengthens emerging democracies around the world and educates Americans about the lessons from these emerging democracies.

Dedicated to these twin goals, this publication grew out of the Democracy Education Exchange Project (DEEP). Created in 2001 with funding from the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Educational Research and Improvement, DEEP sought to improve the quality of civic education both nationally and internationally through cooperative exchange programs with emerging democracies in the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union. The DEEP Consortium, led by The American Forum, Inc. in partnership with the Constitutional Rights Foundation-Los Angeles, the Constitutional Rights Foundation-Chicago, Street Law, Inc., the Social Science Education Consortium and the Council of Chief State School Officers worked with teams from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Moldova, Poland, Russia, Ukraine and Uzbekistan.

When the Berlin Wall came crashing down it symbolically foretold the end of the "Soviet" domination of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The collapse of the monolithic communist state soon followed, and by 1991 much of what was one termed by Ronald Reagan as "the evil empire" had disappeared. What emerged were independent states with uncertain futures; states whose promised goal was democracy, but whose reality bespoke a lingering attachment to past practices.

Democracy, reputed to be the most difficult governmental system to establish, is also devilish to operate and maintain. While the newly independent states profess democratic beliefs, the newly emerged "democracies" have encountered endless difficulties trying to create the atmosphere and the culture of democratic practice. Typically, students in the United States accept democracy, or democratic practices, as a given at birth. Even the study of democracy in civics or history classes tends to be routine and highly nationalistic in nature. For students to discover that not all people or nations are living under the democratic banner is somewhat of a revelation. What may be even more revealing is that there is not one form of democracy, but many. Still further, a key understanding for students should be that democracy is a developing system of government, requiring time and patience to mature.

What have we tried to accomplish in *The Democratic Process: Promises and Challenges* ? Our

primary purpose is to "update" the available classroom-ready materials. During the planning of this guide, we found many excellent publications. We have no wish to supplant these; rather we hope to supplement these books with additional perspectives. This volume is not intended as a prescription for teaching about democracy, but rather a resource book that teachers might use to help them to understand the democratization process going on in the former Soviet Union, and how to begin helping U.S. students grasp the major concepts of democracy—as an idea, as a system of government, and as a way of life as found both here in the United States as well as in Russia, East Europe and Central Asia. This material can only begin that process; it is hoped that it will encourage teachers to add, adjust and create, additional materials or lessons of their own to accomplish the larger goal of democracy understanding.

This resource guide has been divided into three major segments: Promises and Challenges, Voices of Transition, and Fostering a Democratic Dialogue. At the beginning of each section, there are scholarly background essays followed by suggested lesson plans. Needless to say, not all of the material is suitable for every classroom. We leave it the individual teacher to decide how to use these lessons most effectively. The ingenuity and creativity of teachers far exceed what we are capable of doing here; they are the classroom experts!

Given the rapid changes in this region of the world, it is virtually impossible to stay abreast of current affairs. We must acknowledge our academic consultants for their guidance and for the background essays which provide us with a thoughtful analysis of democracy: Marta Mikkelson, University of Washington; Janet G Vaillant, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University; Daniel C. Waugh, University of Washington; Stephen E. Hanson, University of Washington; and H. Michael Hartoonian, University of Minnesota. We are also grateful for the generous support and assistance we received from ***Freedom House***, a non-profit, nonpartisan organization, which continues to be "a clear voice for democracy and freedom around the world." Next, we must thank our DEEP partners for sharing their stories and perspectives and giving us the human side of life in the newly independent states.

This publication would not have been possible without the leadership and vision of Donald Bragaw who, as the Editorial Consultant, lived with this project for more than 6 months. Without his efforts *The Democratic Process: Promises and Challenges* would still be in the talking stages. Don was ably assisted by two young and talented researchers: Yegor Ivanov, an exchange student from Russia and Leyla Safarova, a native of Azerbaijan and a graduate student at East Carolina University. Both of these individuals provided excellent initial research and offered insights into this publication. Fred Czarra, evaluation and international consultant to the Chief State School Officers and Ria Boemi of The American Forum, Inc. deserve credit for their valiant efforts to bring consistency and coherence to the teacher lesson plans. Bonnie Slotnick deserves a special mention for her copy editing work. Special thanks go to those professionals who helped to develop teacher resources and lesson plans: Ron Schukar, Social Science Educational Consortium; Mary A. McFarland, professional social studies education consultant and adjunct professor at Maryville University in St. Louis County, Missouri; Kathleen Bragaw Butler, Projects Director, Arlington (Va.) Public Schools;

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Finally, special recognition is due to the Project Director, Linda Arkin of ***The American Forum, Inc.*** who is responsible for the final shape of this publication. We hope this collection will meet your needs and we welcome your comments and accounts of how the units have been used, as well as your suggestions for making them more effective.

Andrew F. Smith
President
The American Forum, Inc.

The Democratic Process: Promises and Challenges

A resource guide produced for the Democracy Education Exchange Project (DEEP)

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MAP 1

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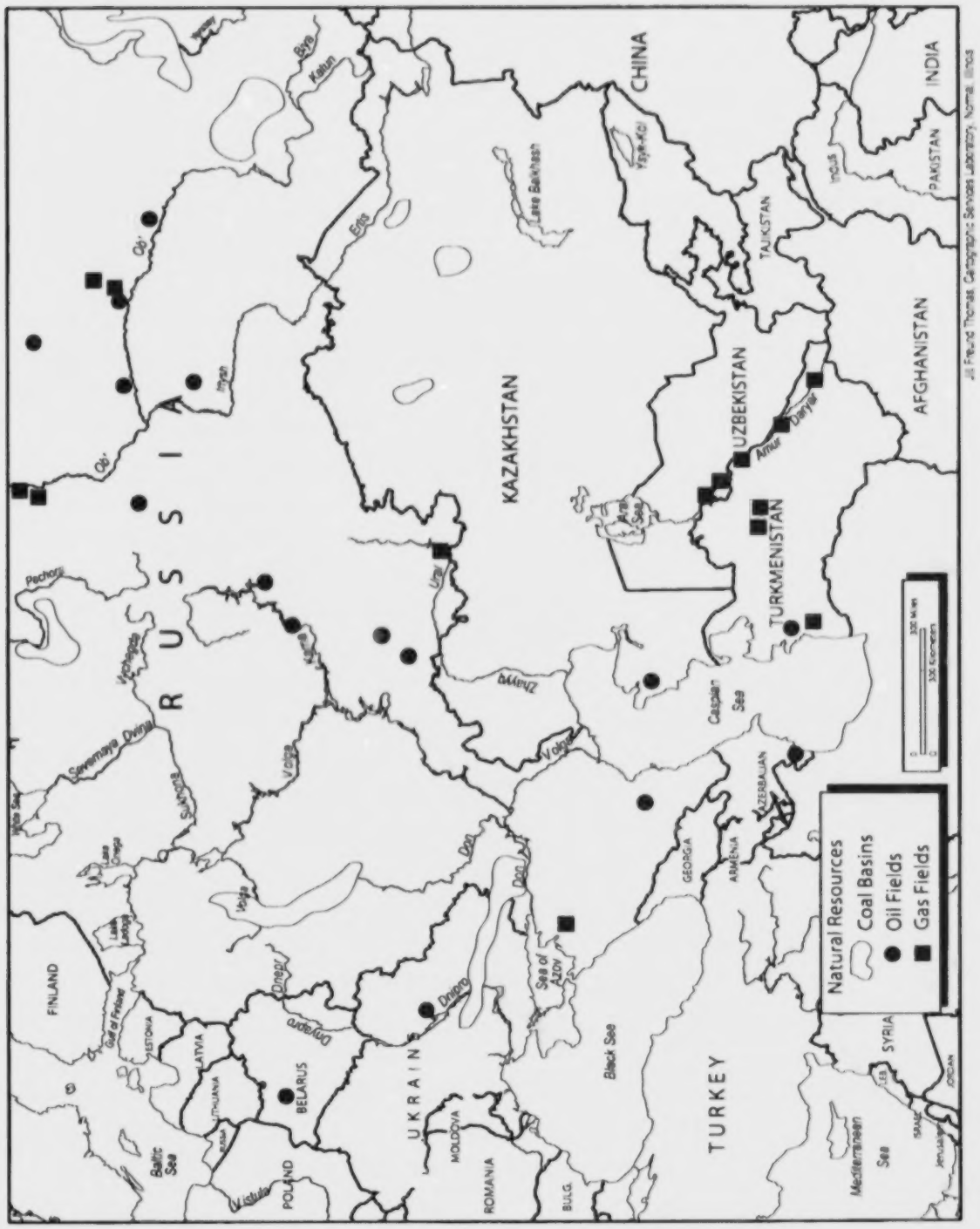
MAP 2



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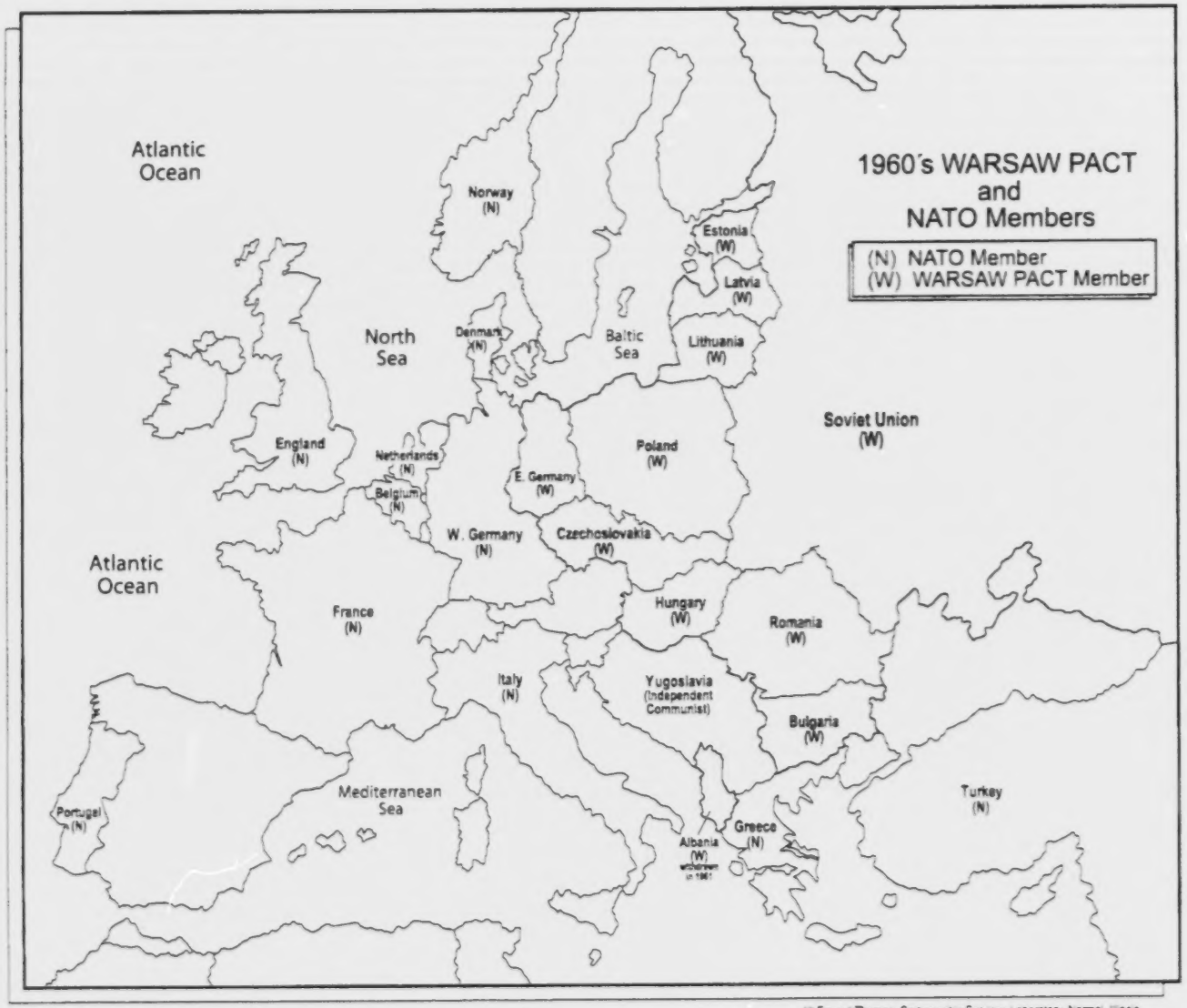


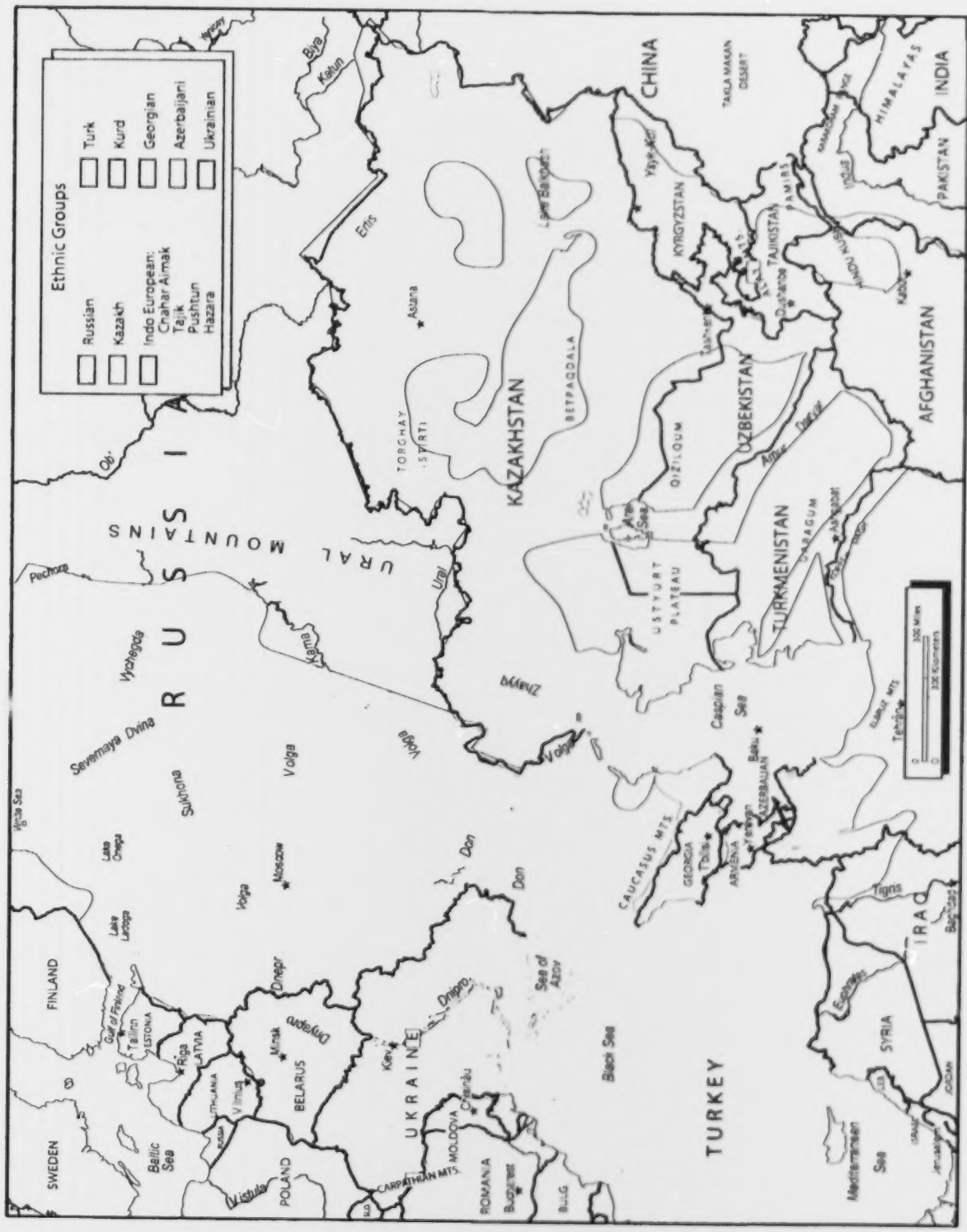
Jill Freund Thomas, Cartographic Services Laboratory, Normal, Illinois

Luxembourg (Not Shown) is also a NATO Member in the 1960s.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were part of the Soviet Union which was a member of the Warsaw Pact in the 1960s.

MAP 4

MAP 5



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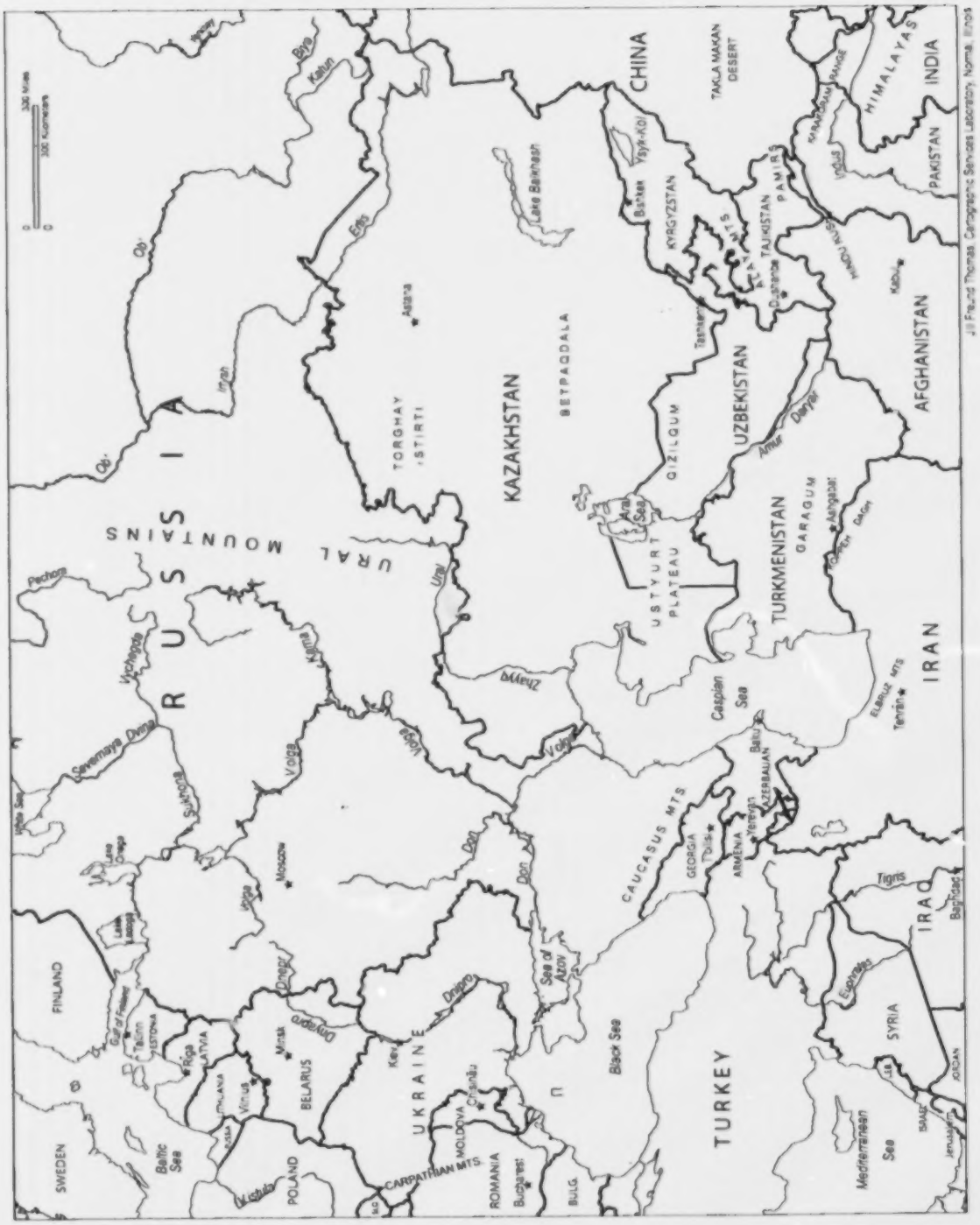
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IRAQ
TURKEY
SYRIA
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TURKMENISTAN
KYRGYZSTAN
TAJIKISTAN
UKRAINE
BELARUS
FINLAND
SWEDEN
POLAND
ROMANIA
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
Caspian Sea
Black Sea
Baltic Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Aral Sea
Lake Baikal
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
URAL MOUNTAINS
CAUCASUS MTS
CARPATHIAN MTS
HIMALAYAS
TAKLA MAKAN DESERT
Moscow
Kiev
Minsk
Riga
Vilnius
Tallinn
Bucharest
Baku
Tehran
Baghdad
Damascus
Amman
Jerusalem
Volga
Don
Dnepr
Ural
Ob
Irtysh
Yenisey
Lena
Amur
Syr Darya
Amu Darya
Tigris
Euphrates
Sea of Azov
Gulf of Finland
TORGHAY PLATEAU
USTYURT PLATEAU
BETPAQDALA
QIZILQUM
KARAKUM
PAMIRS
TIEN SHAN MTS
KUNLUN MTS
ELBURUZ MTS
ZAGROS MTS
Tashkent
Bishkek
Dushanbe
Kabul
Ashgabat
Tehran
Yerevan
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Perm
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Orenburg
Volgograd
Saratov
Samara
Ufa
Kazan
Nizhniy Novgorod
Yaroslavl
Vologda
Arkhangelsk
Murmansk
Petrozavodsk
Novgorod
Smolensk
Kaliningrad
Warsaw
Lublin
Lodz
Gdansk
Bydgoszcz
Poznan
Wroclaw
Katowice
Krakow
Rzeszow
Bialystok
Brest
Gomel
Mogilev
Vitebsk
Grodno
Pskov
Tver
Ivanovo
Kostroma
Yaroslavl
Rybinsk
Cherepovets

SECTION ONE ESSAYS

PROMISES AND CHALLENGES

Overview	
The Eastern European Democratization Process	Marta Mikkelsen
The Democratization of Russia	Janet G. Vaillant
The Authoritarian Politics of Central Asia	Daniel C. Waugh
Why Has Post-Communist Democratization Been So Difficult?	Stephen E. Hanson

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Overview

These essays are intended to provide teachers and advanced students with background information about the ongoing democratization process in Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The challenge of the transition from an autocratic Soviet-dominated society to a more open and democratic one is reflected not only in the hierarchy of government, but also in all aspects of people's daily activities. How citizens respond to public policies and actions, their participation in non-governmental organizations, and their active role in the political process and electoral system are all measures of the degree of democratization.

It must be kept in mind that the pursuit of democracy in these newly independent states is an ongoing matter. Conditions are constantly changing—sometimes in a forward manner, but at other times, there will be setbacks in democratic advances. As will be seen in these essays, democracy does not arise full-blown out of the blue, but is a long, and sometimes tortuous process. Basic values are constantly debated, and the "arguments" that ensue when opposing viewpoints come into conflict frequently spur the growth of democracy.

In his essay, Professor Stephen Hanson of the University of Washington, introduces us to the broad notion of a "culture of democracy" as it presently exists in Russia, and in the newly "democratic" states of the former Soviet Union. It must be recognized that this is a constantly changing situation, and that the latest information about this matter is probably on the newscasts, in newspapers or in news periodicals. Perhaps the most revealing observation by Dr. Hanson in this essay, however, is that there is a prevailing political cynicism all throughout the area covered by this volume, but which, ironically, is a similar kind of cynicism found all over the world and which exists in the Western world just as prominently. There has been, and continues to be a downturn in popular participation in elections in the United States, and several commentators have noted the roots of that in an attitude of cynical doubt that their vote has any real meaning; people feel that they do not have a voice or presence of any kind in the affairs of "state." Such an attitude breeds disillusionment and suspicion in government and its operation.

If democracy is, indeed, the wave of the future, a study of these newly emerging societies in Eurasia may well help us to understand how this ideology becomes established and progresses. One should not be disappointed in the slow advance of democracy. Democratic growth is ". . . not an easy task . . . and there will be times when even the glimmer of democracy is shaky and dim." The history of many of these nations is one of constant conquest, subjugation and humiliation. That many of them have advanced as much as they have is to their credit.

The Eastern European Democratization Process

By Marta Mikkelsen, University of Washington

At its height after World War II, the Soviet Union stretched its influence and control over thousands of miles and hundreds of ethnic groups, languages and cultures. A combination of fear and favor kept these disparate peoples under the yoke of Soviet domination for the next 45 years. While the extent of Soviet control over these states varied, the destructive impact on political, economic and social structures was universal. Now, over a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of its grip on Central and Eastern Europe, these independent countries are progressing (or not progressing) towards market economies and democracies at very different paces.

To understand the root of these differences, one must look back not just to the independence movements of 1980–1991, but also to the root of Russian and then Soviet controls in the first half of the twentieth century. Prior to 1917, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Bessarabia (part of what is now known as Moldova), Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and most of Poland had been territory of the Russian empire. With the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk ending World War I (WWI) for Russia and with the Russian Revolution beginning a civil war, these states gained self-rule. Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Armenia had only very brief, volatile stints of independence. Plagued with the remnants of WWI, the eruption of the Russian Civil War, local ethnic conflict and genocide, they were not able to form any sort of effective government. Most of Bessarabia, ethnically Romanian, merged with Romania, leaving only a small sliver, named Moldavia1, under Soviet control. The Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) and Poland, along with Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Hungary, gained independence at the end of WWI. These states enjoyed about 22 years of independence before WWII began.

There are several ideas about why some states have stagnated while others succeeded, but the most important indicators fall into three categories: the conditions in these countries before Communist rule; the nature of their collapse; and the West's response to the new states.

Conditions Before Communism

The first area consists of the following questions: Did the country have any real experience with independence, a market economy and/or an active civil society prior to Soviet involvement? Had there been a middle class and private property? Were there many gainers from Communism? These questions form the basis of opposition or support for Communism within the countries. Whether a republic was Eastern Orthodox or Catholic/Protestant' has played a significant role. Traditionally, the Orthodox Church served

as an arm of the government, encouraging adherents to subordinate the individual's needs to those of the congregation (or society) and to accept suffering passively in this life with the promise of a better life in heaven. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, remained independent from government for the most part and has encouraged civic activism and help for one's fellow man. Additionally, for those countries who viewed Communism as regressive, foreign and altogether negative, there was greater opposition from within. Throughout Soviet domination, they maintained a separate identity and remembered their inter-war independence as a golden time. These republics were never fully indoctrinated with the Soviet ideology. Meanwhile, those that benefited most from the new regime have tended to look back on Communism with nostalgia.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

LITHUANIA

Last year my childhood idols, The Pet Shop Boys, were on tour in Vilnius - an example of how much Lithuania has opened up to the world. Lithuanians can now travel throughout the whole of Europe without visas. My friends and I have been to various rock concerts in different European capitals. In Soviet times I never even dreamt of such opportunities.

-Igoris Kofas, 26, rock singer

For instance, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had an active free market that developed through trade via the Baltic Sea and historic ties to Scandinavia and Europe, viewing Western culture and attitudes as superior to Russian ones. They had relatively large urban, property-owning middle classes, and commercial agriculture dominated by medium-sized, private farms rather than large fiefdoms. Although their 22 years of independence were not a model of liberal democracy', these countries had constitutional frameworks that remained in place; rule of law and respect for citizens' rights were the norm. Finally, there was not an angry proletariat that benefited from becoming citizens of the Soviet Union. Opposition by all classes was fierce to what Baltic citizens consistently viewed as forced occupation. Hundreds of thousands were deported to labor camps and executed in 1939–41 and 1945–9; the res were forced into submission in their actions, but not in their hearts.

Poland and Czechoslovakia similarly had strong historical identities and real experience with independence. Poland had a millennium of history as a nation and a long-standing hatred of Russia. Czechoslovakia, although it had been part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, had a long tradition of social justice as a part of its ethos. However, in both cases, there were gainers from communization. In Poland, there had been a huge income disparity and an inability to reform agriculture in the inter-war years. Due to the relocation of Poland's borders in 1945, the Soviets were able to distribute new territories to the peasants. The democratically elected Communist leadership in Czechoslovakia expelled 3 million ethnic German residents', whose land was then distributed to Czechs and Slovaks. While Communism never really took hold in these two countries, it was somewhat legitimized by improved conditions.

The Soviet Union annexed territory seized from Romania (a Nazi ally) to expand Moldova. Many ethnic Moldavians (Romanians), particularly from the middle and upper classes, fled to other parts of Romania. To meet the labor needs, migration from Russia and Ukraine rapidly increased. By 1970, Moldavians made up only 35 percent of the republic's urban population and 60 percent of its total population. Ethnic Slavs held the majority of senior industrial, political and scientific positions. Hostilities resulting from cultural and

employment policies augmented the tensions from annexation. There were beneficiaries from Soviet control, but few of them were ethnic Moldavians. The Soviet Union unsuccessfully attempted to indoctrinate the Moldavians with the idea that they had a long, separate history, language and culture, and that they were not ethnic Romanians.

On the other hand, Ukraine, Armenia and Azerbaijan's short experiences with self-rule were unstable and had an insurmountable learning curve. As formerly part of Tsarist Russia, they knew government rule only as subjugation, and benefited from Soviet improvements in education, health care and infrastructure. These countries also felt threatened by other neighboring countries and felt they needed Russian/Soviet support. Having had a very short, unsuccessful run of independence, these four nations were not really interested in independence until the collapse of the Soviet Union seemed imminent.

Nature of Collapse

Understanding the nature of the collapse of Communism within these countries requires consideration of the origin and strength of the independence movements (in large part based upon the first set of questions) and the type of successor leadership. Was there active, vocal opposition to the government? Did the population have exposure to the outside world? Did opposition stem from one sector or one part of the country or was it more universal? Was there a new set of leaders or did the Communist leadership merely trade in Communist rhetoric for a nationalist form? Was it a bloody transition? These questions are important in revealing the source of the desire for independence. A population driven to throw off the shackles of Soviet domination and to embrace Europe, with new leaders and new thinking, was more inclined to endure the necessary hardships to reach its reformist goals. Conversely, a mostly apathetic population was less interested in pushing for independence or experiencing the growing pains of transition that accompanied it. In most cases, the changes were thrust upon them by the collapse of the Soviet Union. The leadership merely switched to talk of nationalism instead. Motivation by only segments of the population, and continued, although reinvented, leadership hampered several of these new countries' reform efforts. Bloodshed and continued Russian meddling further hindered their efforts at self-rule.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

UKRAINE

Thank goodness that the USSR has gone. I can now go abroad on holiday. I've not yet been able to go abroad for business, but while my wife and children are relaxing on Turkish beaches, I take great pleasure in looking round the shops and observing what they are selling and how they trade. I now have a second-hand Audi. In the old days I'd have had to save all my life, and would still only have been able to afford a "Zhigul". Yet I still have a strange feeling inside that things are not yet as they should be - from the toilets in Kiev that have no lights to the fact that we don't know how much money was spent on our 10th anniversary celebrations.

-Evgenii, businessman

In the case of Poland, the West had turned a blind eye to illegal Polish immigration since the 1970s. Millions of Poles headed west, learned Western skills, saved money and became an engine for growth and change upon their return to Poland. Exposure to the advancements of the West strengthened their desire for charting their own course. Lech Walesa, Polish union organizer and leader of the Solidarity movement, led protests in 1980 that resulted in an unprecedented concession by a Communist government to free trade unions. Soon, Solidarity had 10 million members across the country. Martial law was imposed in 1981 to prevent further gains. Although it took until 1989 for

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Solidarity to be legalized and to secure semi-free elections, there was mass support for the movement throughout the country. Those elections brought a non-Communist Prime Minister to power and Solidarity into the government. Former Communists have remained active in Polish politics, but the break with Communism was real. The rest of Central and Eastern Europe, to varying degrees, was soon to follow.

Perestroika and glasnost strengthened opposition movements in the Baltics. These efforts were considered particularly bold, since these republics were not just satellite countries, but part of the Soviet Union. The Latvian Popular Front, established in 1988, focused its efforts on raising the status of ethnic Latvian symbols and publicizing the wrongs of the Soviet government to gain wide support. Lithuania, the only Baltic republic with a true national ethnic majority[3], played a major role in the Soviet Union's collapse. It was the first to vote the Communist Party out of office (December 1989) and to declare its independence (February 1990). Estonia, just a few miles from Finland and linguistically similar, was able to watch Finnish television and see how Finland, once behind Estonia in development and GDP, had far surpassed it economically. In 1989, the fiftieth anniversary of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, almost 2 million Baltic citizens formed a human chain across the three countries to protest their illegal annexation. As mentioned earlier, the three republics had always viewed themselves as part of Europe and focused on their eventual return. Despite Soviet crackdowns in January 1991, the Baltics continued to push for greater sovereignty and independence with Popular Front movements and new leaders. The significant Russian populations in Latvia and Estonia had been brought there to make up for labor shortages and, for the most part, performed blue-collar labor. They were more apathetic than their ethnic Baltic compatriots and initially did not mount any significant support for continued close ties with Russia. By the time they did, the new governments had imposed strict restrictions for limiting citizenship, legally depoliticizing the majority of Slavic residents.

Only late in the 1980s did an active opposition movement emerge in Czechoslovakia[4]. Communism had political legitimacy (it had rid the country of the German population) and economic legitimacy (Czechoslovakia had the highest GDP in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s). Therefore, the population was mostly apathetic to change.

However, as the Soviet Union released its grip on Central Europe, Czechoslovakia saw the emergence of new leaders like Vaclav Havel and Vaclav Klaus to push the population in the right direction. The country had been successfully led by social democrats in the inter-war period, so it was accepted that the country would go back to what it knew previously. The split between the Czech and Slovak Republics was peaceful and democratic, which saved them from the debilitating conflicts that were raging in the Balkans and the Caucasus.

The Moldavian independence movement started with the intelligencia, who convinced the Moldavian Supreme Soviet to acknowledge Moldavian and Romanian as the same language, to return to using Latin script for written Moldavian and to declare Moldavian (rather than Russian) the state language in December 1988. A few months later, the Popular Front was legalized and the Communist Party appointed a more moderate leader. However, Moldavia's road was not an easy one. Disputes about whether Moldavia should seek independence or reunification with Romania split the opposition. A bigger problem soon emerged with the sizable ethnic minorities. While ethnic Moldavians shared the Baltic feeling of forced, illegal annexation, the significant Slavic population in Moldova populated the higher levels of government and industry. They were not able to stop the independence of Moldova (and the change of name, see footnote 1), but with the support of the Russian Fourth Army, they declared the independence of Transdniestria from Moldova[5]. Although this region is not internationally recognized, the unresolved dispute continues to plague Moldova's transition today.

Independence Square, Kiev

Calls for independence came very late to Ukraine. The leadership was against Gorbachev from the start, fighting perestroika and reform harder than any other republic. However, when considering Ukraine, one must acknowledge the ideological and cultural differences between Western Ukraine and Eastern Ukraine[9] with the center of the country vacillating between the influences of the two. The Rukh (the Ukrainian People's Movement for Restructuring), a Western Ukrainian creation, started to push for greater Ukrainian independence only in 1989. With the election of Leonid Kravchuk, the former ideological secretary for the Communist Party, to the chairmanship of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Rukh found an unlikely ally. Kravchuk was a nationalist and began to push the Soviet leadership for a looser confederation with greater, but still Communist, powers for the individual republics. This approach was acceptable to the Ukrainian Communist leadership, in that they would continue to serve as the political elite. Kravchuk's failure to condemn the August 1991 coup until the outcome was clear is evidence that he was not a true reformer at heart. Ironically, Kravchuk's refusal to agree to a new union was a major factor in the disintegration of the Soviet Union[10]. After the coup, the Communist Party was banned. However, Kravchuk was elected President and the former Communists stayed in power under the guise of nationalism.

In Armenia and Azerbaijan, concerted independence movements were also very slow to emerge. Their governments supported Gorbachev's reforms, and independence was not the goal of opposition groups. Gorbachev underestimated the power of ethnic tensions[10] throughout the Soviet Union, which had tremendous side effects from the Baltics to Central Asia. In the Caucasus, Azerbaijan and Armenia's protests really focused only on the central government's treatment of Nagorno-Karabakh[11]. Opposition was not very organized or widespread until the Soviet army cracked down in response to massacres and harassment of minority populations in both republics. In 1991, the leadership merely changed rhetoric rather than actors: once again from Communism to nationalism. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has severely hampered both countries' efforts at reform and has yet to be resolved.

Support from the West

As illustrated by the success of Japan and Germany after WWII and improvements in Spain, Greece and Portugal after joining the European Union, support from and integration with the West is critical for reform and recovery. Yet, due to historical ties (this works both ways), geostrategic issues, personal relationships and the size and influence of diaspora communities, the West did not treat Central and Eastern Europe uniformly as countries in the region gained independence.

The West embraced five of these nations particularly strongly and quickly. Poles had received special treatment by the West, as described above, since the 1970s. The Czech Republic was also embraced, because of its geographical and historical proximity to Western Europe. Large amounts of foreign aid and numerous advisors flooded these two countries. Tourists also flocked to Central Europe, bringing a much-needed inflow of money. Both Poland and the Czech Republic became North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) members in March 1999. The West had never recognized the annexation of the Baltic States and immediately made efforts to ensure their de facto independence after the coup. Close support has given these countries added incentives to reform their governments and banking sectors and to settle border/ethnic disputes to earn eligibility for membership in NATO, the European Union (EU) and the World Trade Organization (WTO).

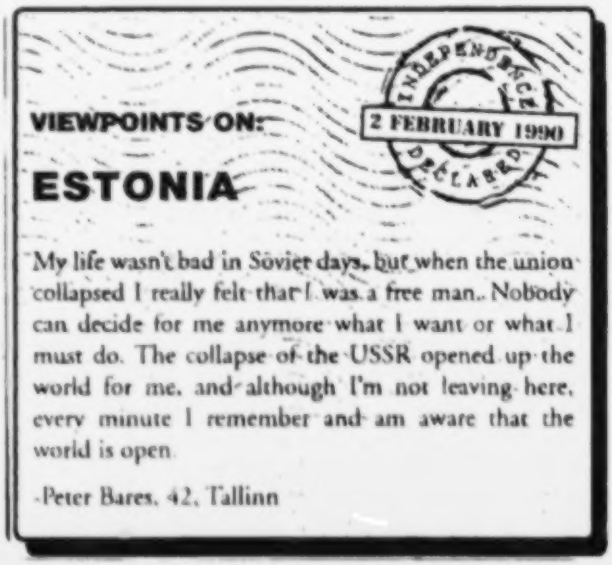
Although sensitive to the Baltic States' proximity to Russia, the West has cooperated very closely with the Baltics in their reform efforts. The remaining Soviet states did not receive the same automatic recognition after the events of August 1991. The United States prioritized recognition of Russia as the successor to the Soviet Union and the heir to its permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council. Ukraine and Armenia were in the second tier of recognition and diplomatic relations, thanks in the first case to statements by the Ukrainian government to become a nuclear-free nation," and in the second case to the powerful Armenian lobby. The US recognized Moldova and Azerbaijan in the final group, but delayed the establishment of diplomatic relations until those nations had made commitments to responsible security policies and democratic principles. The U.S. eventually decided Moldova and Azerbaijan had met these criteria, but then paid little attention to Moldova and imposed Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act" on Azerbaijan, which limited U.S. assistance to humanitarian, democracy-building and nonproliferation aid until Azerbaijan lifted the blockade on Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh."

The Future

With the end of 2002, the latest round of NATO and EU enlargements began. At the November summit in Prague, the Baltic States were invited to begin formal talks on membership in NATO as Poland and the Czech Republic were in 1997 becoming full fledged members in 1999. Although controversial in terms of the West's relationship with Russia, the increased role for Russia in NATO as established in Spring 2002 appears to be a compensation for that. Most likely, NATO's role in the Baltics will follow that of its role in Scandinavia, as a looser alliance with the Chapter 5 guarantee of "an attack against one is an attack against all," but without the extensive placement of Western troops or military hardware that exists in Germany. If the Baltic States are indeed invited in November 2002, the approval process by the legislative bodies of all 19 current members and new members will probably take another year or two.

An invitation for EU membership for Poland, the Czech Republic, and the Baltic States was offered in December 2002. By February, the European Commission had approved the Accession Treaty, which outlined the foundation of EU enlargement. A final vote on the treaty and on the accession of individual candidates by the European Parliament is scheduled for April. The following week the treaty will be formally signed in Athens and must then be ratified by each candidate's parliament. It is hoped that ratification of the accession agreement by current and new members could be completed before the next European parliamentary elections in June 2004. These five countries are leaps and bounds beyond Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan and Armenia, having had significant experiences with independence prior to Soviet involvement, a real change in leadership, active independence movements and significant Western support.

Ukraine was expected to thrive in independence with its 52 million citizens, its military-industrial capacity, its lack of minority tensions and foreign debt, and its status as the breadbasket of Europe—it is one of only two former Soviet Republics that could feed itself without imports". However, Ukraine had virtually no experience with independence nor did it benefit from a real change in leadership. It became a kleptocracy, where those in power spent most of the 1990s avoiding real economic reform, opting instead for self-enrichment schemes. The West viewed Ukraine as a regional counterweight to Russia. In this case, support from the West was not so positive. Rather than encouraging Ukraine to reform, the West has let Ukraine take advantage of its special status and get away with misusing Western assistance. Corruption and criminalization run very high in the Ukrainian government. Just two years ago, evidence emerged that the current President, Leonid Kuchma, had ordered the execution of an opposition journalist to silence criticism against the regime.


INDEPENDENCE
2 FEBRUARY 1990
DECLARED
VIEWPOINTS ON:
ESTONIA
My life wasn't bad in Soviet days, but when the union collapsed I really felt that I was a free man. Nobody can decide for me anymore what I want or what I must do. The collapse of the USSR opened up the world for me, and although I'm not leaving here, every minute I remember and am aware that the world is open.
-Peter Bares, 42, Tallinn

Another unsettling issue has caused major problems for Ukraine: allegations that President Kuchma authorized the sale of the Kolchuga radar system (which does not emit a radar signal and therefore cannot be detected by incoming aircraft) to Iraq. Although the US has not been able to substantiate this sale, it has suspended $54 million in government aid and has withdrawn its invitation for President Kuchma to attend the NATO Prague summit.

Kuchma also dismissed his former protégé, Prime Minister Viktor Yushchenko, in 2001, not because of any failings (or commitment to reform), but because it was clear he would be a major rival in the parliamentary elections. Despite Kuchma's efforts to intimidate and to jail the opposition, Yushchenko's dismissal actually strengthened his position; his party won more votes than Kuchma's party (but with the Communist Party a close second) in the March 2002 elections.

It still remains to be seen whether a weakened president in a system with strong presidential powers will be able to prevent the parliament from passing legislation. One current and future advantage for Ukraine is its proximity to Poland (porous border, migrant labor and trade), especially since it means sharing a border with the EU. Ukraine has experienced growth in recent years (due mostly to currency devaluation) and has begun to make a little progress on reform, but there is still a long road ahead and it is questionable whether the current leadership will be willing to stomach the necessary restructuring.

Moldova, Armenia and Azerbaijan have the furthest to go. They all suffer from unresolved ethnic conflict, which Russia helped to create and continues to maintain. The conflicts in Transdniestria and Nagorno-Karabakh need genuine Russian commitment to be resolved, but it is not really in Russia's interest to show such commitment. As long as these countries have ceasefires but no peace accords, known as "no war, no peace," within their countries, they remain somewhat dependent on Russia, something Moldova and Azerbaijan have striven to avoid and Russia to maintain.

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Armenia suffers from a continued blockade by Azerbaijan and Turkey, leaving Georgia as its only cooperative neighbor. Due to the large, disgruntled Armenian population within southern Georgia and Georgia's interest in being part of the oil pipeline route from Azerbaijan to Turkey, even those relations are not particularly close. Armenia has also experienced a massive brain drain in the first decade of independence. This emigration has hurt every sector of the Armenian society. The one advantage Armenia does have is a supportive and very powerful diaspora community in the U.S. and Europe. Through the diaspora, they have been able to secure the second highest per capita assistance[16] from the U.S. This aid has helped sustain Armenia, but with few natural resources, tense borders, a shrinking population and little will for reform, it will be a long time before Armenia can be considered a functioning market economy and democracy.

Azerbaijan is also struggling, but has the advantage of significant oil resources and international energy companies' investment. The government has put all its efforts into the actualization of the Baku-Ceyhan oil pipeline.[17] Unfortunately, the leadership in Azerbaijan sees this as a way to enrich itself rather than to improve the infrastructure of the country. President Aliev, former Party Secretary during Soviet times, is corrupt and has made life very difficult for anyone who opposes him. However, he is also quite old and ailing from cancer. His death, known in the country as "Event X", will likely result in a power struggle with grave, destabilizing potential. Aliev has groomed his son to be his successor, but the son's gambling addiction, playboy reputation and lack of real political support makes that seem unlikely. However, almost everyone capable of leading has been exiled, jailed or scared into submission.

Moldova has the dubious distinction of being the poorest country in Europe. Its only area of success in reform is in its consistency in holding (internationally certified) free and fair elections. Of course, these elections brought the Communists back into power in February 2001. Although free and fair elections are a feat not repeated anywhere else in the former Soviet Union (with the exception of the Baltics), Moldova continues to stagnate. Under the leadership of Vladimir Vronin, the Communists were elected due to widespread popular dissatisfaction with the inability of the Christian Democratic People's Party (PPCD) to present credible reform options. Vronin has pushed for closer ties with Russia, including consideration of a Russia-Belarus-Moldova union. With recent attempts to establish Russian as an official language, massive protests erupted. However, it appears that only a vocal minority opposes the government. Recent polls show the Communists' approval is growing, and support for the opposition (perhaps because of the protests) is dwindling. Moldova lacks a clear identity. The Communists seek closer integration with Russia, while the PPCD talks of reunification with Romania. The governments of those countries have been restrained in discussing their relations with Moldova.[18] Moldova is in the unenviable position of having little, and quite rocky, experience with independence and negligible support from the West. It is unclear what the future has in store for Moldova, but it probably will be a long time before Moldovans return to their pre-independence standard of living.

In looking at these nine countries, it is clear that Soviet control varied in its extent and legacy. Those with significant pre-Communist independence experiences were able to reinstitute earlier constitutions, learn from their mistakes with earlier attempts at independence and sometimes even benefit from firsthand experience. Countries with a motivated population had new leaders who did not bear the stigma of just being more of the same. They had credibility with their publics that a repressive Communist-turned-nationalist did not have (nor probably cared to have). Finally, support from the West is vital. Not just pouring in funds as occurred with Armenia and Ukraine, but "tough love" programs offering the incentives of membership in NATO and the EU to force these countries to take the difficult steps necessary for long-term growth and prosperity.

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Footnotes:

1 This territory, on the left bank (when looking south) of the Dniester river, was named the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) of Moldavia. After WWII, it merged with part of Romania (between the Prut and Dniester rivers). With independence, the country adopted the Romanian spelling/pronunciation of their country: Moldova. Residents of this country and the country itself will be referred to as Moldavians and Moldavia for the pre-independence period and Moldovans and Moldova afterwards.

2 Armenia, Moldova and Eastern Ukraine are mostly Orthodox Christian. Lithuania, Poland and Western Ukraine are primarily Catholic; Latvia and Estonia are mostly Protestant and the Czech Republic is both.

3 Governments were liberal democracies until the Great Depression in the 1930s led to the establishment of traditionalist authoritarian governments. Civil rights and property were protected, but agrarian, business and military elites made policy decisions.

4 The significant German population living in the Sudetenland in western Czechoslovakia was the source of a constant threat, as exemplified by its annexation by Nazi Germany in 1939.

5 Lithuania was 80.1% Lithuanian, 8.6% Russian, 7.7% Polish and 3.6% other in 1989. Latvia was 51.8% Latvian, 33.8% Russian, 10.2% other Slavs and 4.2% other. Estonia was 61.5% Estonian, 30.3% Russian, 3.2% Ukrainian and 5% other. This data is from the 1989 Soviet census.

6 In 1968, the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia to crush the "Prague Spring" movement. This movement was not pushing for ending Communist rule, but for "Communism with a human face." The crackdowns soured this opinion, but also stifled potential opposition.

7 This separatist region is the territory that remained under the Soviet Union in the inter-war years and has a high concentration of ethnic Slavs.

8 Western Ukraine: 10 percent of the country; the regional capital is Lviv. The region is Catholic and more westernized, as it had been part of the Hapsburg Empire and part of Poland between the World Wars. Eastern Ukraine: This larger portion of the country is heavily Russian-populated, Eastern Orthodox and more industrialized.

9 From late 1990 through 1991, Gorbachev tried to halt the unraveling of the USSR by offering the republics more independence through a new, looser union treaty. However, his offers were too little, too late, proposing less than what the states had in reality. Gorbachev refused to consider any union without Ukrainian membership. Ukraine stalled on signing this agreement, which then became obsolete with the August 1991 coup.

10 Stalin's policy of "divide-and-rule" created 15 pseudo-independent republics within the Soviet Union with huge minorities in each; high economic dependence between republics; and historical revisionism (generating tensions where they had not been before) to foster instability and total reliance on the center.

11 Nagorno-Karabakh is an ethnically Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan. The Armenians and Nagorno-Karabakhis want it to be a part of Armenia, while the Azeris wanted the Soviet leadership to support its efforts to control this territory. War erupted there shortly after independence. With the help of Armenia and Russia, the Karabakhis were able to expel Azeris from Nagorno-Karabakh and the surrounding territories. It now controls almost 20% of Azeri territory. A ceasefire has (mostly) remained in place since 1994. Perhaps not coincidentally, there were no further offensives after Azerbaijan ratified the Commonwealth of Independent States agreement, something for which Russia had long pressured.

12 Ukraine agreed to destroy or to transfer to Russia all nuclear weapons. Fearful of the creation of numerous weak nuclear states, the U.S. made the elimination of nuclear weapons from all Republics but Russia a major priority.

13 This legislation, which became law on October 11, 1992, established comprehensive assistance programs to former Soviet Republics in democracy, economics, education, disarmament, exchanges, etc.

14 Section 907 is still in place. Azeris, the Clinton and Bush Administrations argued that it is greatly hindering reform, but

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U.S. Congress has refused to repeal it. For the first time this year, though, the provision was waived to aid the war against terrorism.

15 Kazakhstan was the other.

16 Israel receives the highest U.S. foreign assistance and per capita assistance.

17 Construction of the pipeline started in September 2002. The pipeline will be 996 millimeters in diameter and 1760 km long, beginning at Baku, Azerbaijan on the Caspian Sea, circumventing Armenia by heading through Tbilisi, Georgia and then down through eastern Turkey to the port city of Ceyhan (pronounced Jey-han) on the Mediterranean. Its completion is anticipated in 2005.

18 Romania does not want anything to threaten NATO membership and Russia has cooled to the idea of a greater union. It has other priorities as well.

The Democratization of Russia

By Janet G. Vaillant, Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University

In 1991, Boris Yeltsin became the first Russian president elected in free, competitive elections. He enjoyed enormous popular support. He proclaimed that Russia was on its way to becoming a democratic society based on the rule of law and a market economy. One of his first moves was to dissolve the old Soviet Union, setting the former republics loose to develop their own plans and policies. Most Russian and many U.S. observers agreed that Russia was entering a time of transition and would soon become a "normal," prosperous country. The U.S. government pursued a policy of support for Yeltsin, who was said to be the best hope for a democratic Russia. U.S. and other Western consultants provided advice on how best to do almost everything and, most conspicuously, how best to move toward a capitalistic economic system. The Russian leadership set about dismantling the old, hierarchical political system and privatizing many of the economic enterprises that had been owned and operated by the state. There was great optimism that Russia would indeed soon become a country open to investment and trade, a reliable partner in the post-Cold-War world. Most U.S. commentators, although they did not say so directly, expected that Russia would soon become a democracy "just like us," with an economy open to U.S. investment and trade. Indeed, McDonald's and Pizza Hut did quickly appear in Moscow and the city swarmed with young people from all over Europe and the United States eager to work in international organizations and make their fortunes.

In the years that have passed since Yeltsin came to power, much has changed in Russia. Yet much has also stayed the same. Russian government officials still embrace the goal of creating a country based on the rule of law and a market economy. Yeltsin's successor, Vladimir Putin, was elected in 2002 to be Russia's new president. Does that mean that Russia is now a democracy?

The first question to address is the definition of democracy. There are three basic types or dimensions of democracy that can be analytically distinguished from one another, although they often appear together in real life: representative or electoral democracy, liberal democracy and participatory democracy. A representative or electoral democracy exists when top government leaders are chosen in a competitive election to represent those who elect them. A liberal democracy is based on faith in the rationality of individual citizens and emphasizes the freedom of individuals from governmental interference and constraints on the concentration of power. A participatory democracy exists when individuals participate in making the decisions that affect their everyday lives. Most mature democracies include a combination of these features, and vary greatly in the specific interrelations among them. A minimal requirement of democracy is that top govern-

ment officials be elected in a free, competitive election, and that there be a constitution or other set of laws that guarantees that these elections will occur periodically. An important additional requirement for any sort of stability would seem to be a minimal rule of law including an enforcement mechanism to make sure that elections occur on a regular basis. A free press is additionally desirable, so that voters can make informed decisions. Many would add other requirements for a system to be called democratic, such as legal, social and political restraints on the arbitrary actions of those elected for a given term, and a guarantee of basic civil or human rights for individuals.

Most U.S. citizens assume that their democracy will also provide them with other benefits, such as equal and fair enforcement of the law, protection by the law, individual liberties, prosperity, and a modicum of tolerance for minority views and cultural diversity. The Russians who supported Boris Yeltsin in 1999 expected that his government would bring them democracy, and with it other benefits such as protection for individual and human rights, and economic prosperity.

The Russian population has had little experience of democracy over their long and often troubled history. From the rise of Muscovy in the tenth century to the end of the nineteenth century, Russians lived under the rule of an autocratic Tsar. Despite occasional protests and effects at reform, Russians did not successfully challenge or limit the centralized power of the Tsar until the twentieth century. Then, briefly, between 1905 and 1917, claims from below led to the creation of elected, representative institutions of limited influence. These were swept away by the revolution of 1917. The Soviet rulers paid tribute to the power of democratic ideas. They held elections, wrote constitutions that set out basic laws, and developed a system of courts to settle legal disputes. But their democracy was a sham. Elections were not contested. There was only one candidate for each position, and that candidate was carefully chosen by the Communist party. The press was heavily censored so that the population had no access to accurate, unbiased information. The constitution contained a provision that enabled the government to override any law when they believed it in their best interest to do so. This provision revealed the essence of the Soviet system. Many people were arrested and charged with bogus crimes, particularly in the time of Stalin; they were sent to prison or work camps, or simply shot.

The Soviet government concentrated on economic development. It created a state-owned and centrally planned economy to mobilize all of its resources and to ensure economic equality and a social safety net for all. It offered free schooling and medical care, guaranteed a job to everyone of working age, and modest pensions to retired workers. This was the promise of Soviet socialism. Many critics have pointed out that this promise was not fulfilled. Achievement came at a terrible price: a brutal and arbitrary political system that wasted many lives. The planned economy did succeed in giving most people jobs and a steadily rising living standard until it proved unable to adapt efficiently to post-industrial conditions. Many of the social services provided were indeed available to everyone, but when the economy began to falter in the 1970s and 1980s, so did the government's capacity and will to maintain the quality of these services. Nonetheless, in the later years of the Soviet era, an unarticulated but widely accepted social contract between ruler and ruled offered Soviet citizens stability, security from foreign invasion, free education and crude health services for everyone, and the ability to predict what was likely to be the course of their individual lives.

This security began to disappear when Mikhail Gorbachev became the General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985. It was he who began to reform and democratize the old Soviet system. Gorbachev believed that the system was basically sound, but in need of some change to make its economy more efficient. He encouraged

people to speak more freely, and supported the beginnings of a free press. He introduced choice in elections to some Communist Party and government posts. His goal was incremental change or what might be called a conservative reform. These initiatives threatened the old elites, however, while at the same time whetting other people's appetites for swift change in the direction of democracy and individual choice. In August of 1991, shortly after Yeltsin had been elected president of the Russian Federation, then one of the fifteen constituent republics of the Soviet Union, there was an attempted coup. In the confusion that followed, the leaders of the coup were arrested, and Boris Yeltsin emerged as the champion of democracy. One of Yeltsin's first moves was to bless the break-up of the Soviet Union itself, thereby overruling the 70% of the Soviet population that had recently voted in favor of its continuance. This political decision strengthened Yeltsin in his power struggle with Gorbachev and, at the time, was presented as a step toward self-determination and democracy. Yeltsin soon emerged as the leader of a new country, the Russian Federation, while Gorbachev lost power.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

RUSSIA

When the coup began on 19 August 1991, I was in Seattle. Someone suggested I remain in America, but I refused. Sometimes I wonder whether I should have stayed. But I don't want to return. Strangely, I found San Francisco boring. We have more fun here. On one hand, the collapse of the USSR was good. We now have avant-garde pictures in Vladivostok, which we didn't even know about before. Artists who were persecuted by the KGB now have official status. On the other hand, 10 years ago we couldn't even have imagined the scale of destruction that would happen in our country.

Aleksandr Gorodniy, 50, curator, Vladivostok

Today Russia possesses a constitution that requires regular elections to both the presidency and a bicameral legislature, of which the lower and more important house is called the Duma. The eighty-nine constituent units of the federation and the localities within them also elect executives and governing councils. In the early 1990s, there was great popular interest in these elections. A relatively free media provided opportunities to learn about issues and candidates, and loosely united political groupings were formed. Many candidates ran for office and voter turnout was high.

Yet the record of the Yeltsin period is mixed at best. Yeltsin was popularly elected, but he ruled mainly by decree, gladly accepting the power granted him by the Duma because of "national emergency." It was argued that a period of authoritarian rule was necessary to consolidate the new democratic institutions. Instead of moving swiftly to use his power to strengthen the new democratic political institutions, however, Yeltsin ignored their existence whenever possible. Indeed, he appeared to have forgotten about democracy and focused instead on making economic changes. In December of 1991, he postponed local elections because he feared his supporters might lose. In 1993, he used tanks to break up the elected parliament that had supported him in his struggle with Gorbachev. That same body was now punished because it had dared defy his will. It was forcibly disbanded. A new constitution was written, and imposed from above after little discussion. It vested enormous power in the president, to such an extent that Russians joked that they were now living under a monarchy. Nonetheless, Yeltsin continued to speak of democracy, and retained the support of West European

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St. Basil's, Moscow

and U.S. governments and international lending agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank.

In retrospect, the Yeltsin period of the so-called struggle for democracy and economic reform during Yeltsin's presidency might better be characterized as a time of struggle between different greedy groups and individuals for control of state assets and personal enrichment. Large chunks of Russia's wealth, oil fields, factories, media outlets and mines, were transferred from state ownership into private hands in accord with the policy of "shock" therapy, a policy fully supported by Yeltsin's Western advisors. It was justified as the only way to crush any possibility that the old Communist state system could again seize power from the "democratic" Yeltsin government. Auctions, vouchers and swaps of shares in companies for bank credits for the government occurred in ways that allowed well-connected individuals to acquire huge fortunes in the space of months. A few Russians became very rich. Some of their new Western partners did so as well. The success or failure of those Russians called "the oligarchs" and the new Russians depended entirely on the favor of Yeltsin and his narrow circle of advisors and friends. Laws could be ignored, exceptions made, taxes reduced. New laws proved contradictory, were full of loopholes, or simply were not enforced. Corruption spread throughout the society as those eager to give bribes and those glad to take them proliferated. In this atmosphere, a violent Mafia grew up to levy its own taxes and act as enforcer. Indeed, it became difficult to draw clear lines among government officials, the newly rich businessmen, and the clearly criminal. The economy was devastated as assets were stripped and profits from export deals were placed off shore. Russian bankers and businessmen and their Western financial advisors quickly mastered the most up-to-date ways to hide their identities and put their profits in safe places.

The economic devastation that resulted from these maneuvers was exacerbated by the break-up of the old Soviet Union. This political decision was made, as Winston Churchill had said of the British Empire, in an apparent fit of absent-mindedness, very rapidly with little discussion or opposition. It had enormous personal and economic consequences. To be sure, a few republics, notably the Baltic States and Azerbaijan and Georgia, sought independence, but this move toward self-determination for the republics was not well prepared. Thousands of ethnic Russians and other nationalities suddenly found themselves in a foreign country. A huge integrated economy was broken up. Suppliers lost buyers; factories lost both suppliers and markets. An enterprise that had served consumers throughout

the Soviet Union, for example, found its market shrunk, while supplies it had taken for granted were now products of foreign countries and subject to tariffs and transportation delays. This political decision accelerated the closing of industries unable to compete in the new economic climate. In 1992 and 1993, hyperinflation wiped out the life savings of most Russians. In 1994, Yeltsin's government initiated a disastrous war against the republic of Chechnya, which was seeking more autonomy and which, coincidentally, had a large potential role to play in the export of oil. By 1996, when a truce was signed, Groznyi, the capital of Chechnya, had been destroyed and thousands of civilians and Russian soldiers were dead. In August 1998, after a series of complicated dealings that once again benefited a few, and after the government had promised not to devalue the ruble, it did just that and froze bank accounts. The working capital of many entrepreneurs who had begun small businesses was wiped out. In effect, savings were again confiscated. More businesses shut down, and more jobs were lost. The public health care system gradually crumbled as doctors went unpaid and there were few medical drugs available. Alone among industrialized countries, Russia experienced a sharp decline in life expectancy. Schools continued to function but teachers were paid a miserly salary and even that was not paid for months at a time. Fortunately for school staffing, the birth rate was dropping precipitously, an eloquent testimony to the fact that young people did not feel confident about their future.

Many Russians refer to this period as one of collapse and catastrophe. In the decade of the 1990s, the high hopes and energies of a great many honest people who wanted to work to build a new Russia were simply wasted and gradually drained away. Moscow boomed, a few other cities prospered. There, energetic and imaginative young people found good jobs, but older people and those living in the countryside have seen their standard of living plummet. The gap between rich and poor has widened enormously. What little liberty the Russian population gained during this period has been offset by an enormous drop in the economic standard of life for the majority of the population. When asked in 1999 whether they had gained or lost as a result of the changes since Yeltsin had come to power, 70 percent said they had lost to some degree, and only 6 percent said that they had gained to some degree. These are facts about the Yeltsin era that had a huge impact on everyday life for all Russians.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

KAZAKHSTAN

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union a lot of bad things have happened to me. The main thing is that I lost my job. The excuse given was that all official documents would now be written in Kazakh. I was ready to learn the language, but as far as the boss was concerned that was irrelevant. Later I found out that one of the head doctor's female relatives had been hired to replace me...Now I sit at home trying to make ends meet. For a long time my husband was out of work. Now he has to do two part-time insecure jobs to try somehow to feed the family.

-Svetlana Feifer, 45, former nurse

Does this mean that there has been no democratization of Russia, or that democracy will never be possible in Russia? To answer this question, it is important first to keep in mind that the democracies of Western Europe and the United States have evolved slowly over centuries, and not without conflict, setbacks, violence and civil war. Furthermore, these democracies are

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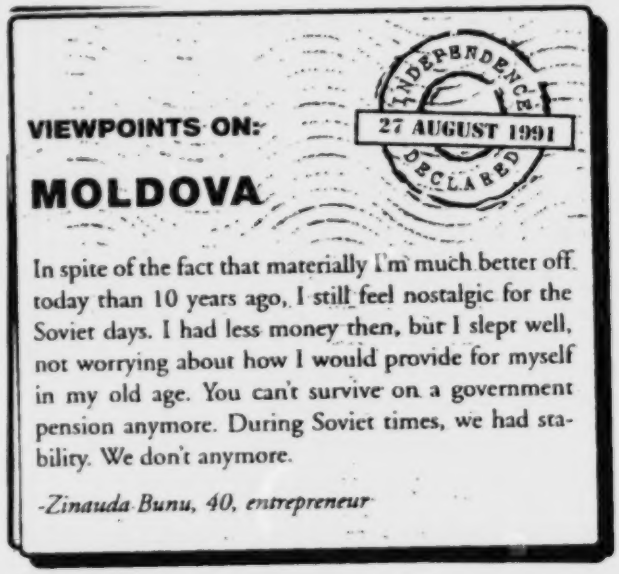
still works in progress, incompletely able to realize all their promise, strong in some dimensions of democracy but weak in others. Not all are yet willing to grant the full complement of human rights set out in the Declaration of Human Rights and recently highlighted by former president Jimmy Carter when he spoke of the work that earned him the Nobel Peace Prize for 2002. The rights of children to food, shelter and health care are not yet available to all, even in the most advanced democracies. The ideal of participatory democracy has proved difficult to put into practice and, some have argued, has grown weaker rather than stronger in the United States and remains weak elsewhere.

In Russia, there has been little historical experience with any genuine dimension of democracy, and none in Soviet times. The Soviet government did nonetheless create precedents for the guarantee of some economic human rights, and has some success in guaranteeing free education, health care and security to its citizens. Even in the 1970s and 1980s, corruption and elite privilege remained invisible to most citizens. An irony of the 1990s is that even as the government claimed it was working for democracy, the rule of law, and a more efficient economy, these positive accomplishments of the Soviet era were undermined. On the other hand, if the focus is on formal political institutions, the record is more positive. A constitution and other institutions of representative, electoral democracy do now exist in Russia. There have been three federation-wide elections for president, in 1991, 1996 and 2000. No one has challenged the validity of the election procedures as such. Furthermore, the break up of the old Soviet state system was accomplished without major violence or civil war. Chechnya is the exception and provides evidence of just how ugly such a large-scale civil war might have been. Thus Russia today meets the minimal criteria to be called an electoral representative democracy: elections have been held to choose political leaders in accord with a constitution. The institutions themselves and the rule of law are not yet well established. Only time will show whether or not Russia has begun a gradual process in the direction of democracy. Not all developments of the past few years give grounds for optimism.

The pendulum that seemed to be swinging in the direction of democracy at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, however, seems now to be swinging in the opposite direction. Yeltsin himself ruled in an authoritarian manner and violated the constitution when it suited him to do so. His successor, Vladimir Putin, was chosen in an election that offered no viable opponent. Not only was he Yeltsin's handpicked successor, but Putin gained his swift popularity by the rigor with which he pursued the second Chechen War. Since his election, Putin has moved swiftly to rein in the independence of the regions of the federation and to reestablish central control from Moscow. He has appointed his own representatives to form a new layer of bureaucratic organization that unites the several regions into larger units. It has been suggested that the regional governors be appointed rather than elected or, at the very least, be removable by the central government if they violate the law. As one Russian commentator put it, the country is a republic whose elected leader has the powers of a monarch, and a federation in name that is unitary in practice. Corruption and cronyism continue to flourish among government officials and business interests. While violent resolutions of business disputes that were said to be the Mafia's special contribution have diminished, they still continue. The rule of law is not secure, partly because new legislation is not yet complete and sometimes proves contradictory, but more importantly because the laws are not consistently enforced and the judiciary remains subject to corrupting pressures from political and business elites.

Perhaps most important of all for the future of democracy, freedom of the press is gradually eroding. In the early 1990s, a free press exploded with information. Circulation of newspapers and maga-

zines soared, and television drew huge audiences to its hard-hitting and tough reportage. Today the government directly or indirectly controls all central media. Those who travel or have access to the internet continue to be well informed, but the internet as a source of information must be put in perspective: more than ninety percent of Russians have never used the internet; 57 percent of Russians have no phone at home. Wise Russians recall how things were between 1917 and the late 1980s when a free press did not exist, and they worry about what may happen. How can elections have meaning if people have access to no independent information about either the candidates or the government policies?


INDEPENDENCE
27 AUGUST 1991
DECLARED
VIEWPOINTS ON:
MOLDOVA
In spite of the fact that materially I'm much better off today than 10 years ago, I still feel nostalgic for the Soviet days. I had less money then, but I slept well, not worrying about how I would provide for myself in my old age. You can't survive on a government pension anymore. During Soviet times, we had stability. We don't anymore.
-Zinauda Bunu, 40, entrepreneur

Despite all these problems, there has been progress toward democracy in Russia. People speak far more freely to each other and to people outside their narrow circle of friends than they did in Soviet times. Nascent professional organizations and non-governmental organizations, particularly in the field of environmental protection, do exist. Their path is hard. Rather than supporting their work, the government harasses them with regulations and unfavorable legislation such as the levying of taxes on donations or grants. Dedicated activists persist and are not jailed, as would have been their unavoidable fate in Soviet times. Energetic entrepreneurs have started small, honest businesses and have experienced some success, especially when they consciously remain small and out of the sight of corrupt tax collectors or others anxious to siphon off some of their profits. Some, particularly the educated elites and those who live in big cities or who have had the opportunity to travel abroad, are far better informed today than in Soviet times. Some participated actively in the democratic movement of the early 1990s, and continue that work more quietly today. Others have begun to understand the satisfaction of doing things for themselves rather than depending on the government for help. School reformers have begun to teach children critical thinking and other skills necessary for participation in democratic decision-making. Indeed, polls suggest that popular disgust with the corruption and theft that took place during Yeltsin's era in the name of democracy has not caused the majority of Russians to reject democratic ideals as such.

President Putin is genuinely popular in Russia. He is seen as a young, competent and vigorous leader who will improve the economy and provide security and stability. He has promised to rein in corruption and strengthen the rule of law. To accomplish his goals, he has changed some of the policies of the Yeltsin years. He has made moves to re-centralize government power, reduce the influence of the elected parliament, and limit the independence of the press. He has not yet shown much interest in strengthening Russia's frail democratic institutions.

Mikhail Gorbachev set in motion a process that led to the collapse of the Soviet political system. The result of these changes has been catastrophic for the living standards of the great majority of Russians. Corruption and the theft of state

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assets occurred on the scale of billions of dollars. After several false starts and relatively little violence, however, Russian leaders created a new constitution in 1993 and established a new set of rules to govern their country. While some of these rules and laws have been broken, no group in Russia has seriously questioned their validity. People now vote for president and parliament, but all institutions except the presidency have little power and the central media are tightly controlled. The independent civil society, said to be essential for stable, effective democracy, remains very weak. What this new system will mean for the everyday life of most Russians is not yet clear. Much will depend on the outcome of the struggle against corruption and the government's ability and willingness to enforce its laws. The fact that a regional governor was gunned down on a busy Moscow street on a fall morning in the year 2002 is not a good sign. Nonetheless, a first step toward representative, electoral democracy has been made. It is important to remember that, in the words of the Chinese sage, "every great journey begins with a single step." The future for democracy in Russia remains unpredictable. If and when it comes, it will be a Russian democracy, buttressed by Russian culture and experience, and one that can be widely supported by Russia's peoples.

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The Authoritarian Politics of Central Asia

by Daniel C. Waugh, The University of Washington (Seattle)

The current U.S. State Department assessments of human rights practices in the Central Asian countries introduce the respective reports as follows:

- Turkmenistan is a one-party state dominated by its president and his closest advisers, who continue to exercise power in a Soviet-era authoritarian style despite Constitutional provisions nominally establishing a democratic system.
- Tajikistan is ruled by an authoritarian regime that has established some nominally democratic institutions.
- Uzbekistan is an authoritarian state with limited civil rights.
- The Constitution of Kazakhstan concentrates power in the presidency . . . [and] permits the president to dominate the legislature and judiciary, as well as regional and local governments.
- Although the 1993 Constitution defines the form of government [in Kyrgyzstan] as a democratic republic, President Askar Akayev dominates the Government . . . The executive branch dominates the judiciary, and the Government used judicial proceedings against prominent political opposition and independent media figures in numerous instances.

Indeed, there is little in the history of Central Asia since 1991 to suggest that democratic values and institutions will emerge there in the foreseeable future. None of the Central Asian states has enjoyed much of a public process, which might lead to resolution of the "value tensions" seen as inherent in any democratic system. The priorities of Central Asian governments dictate that there be no meaningful democratization—we are not even talking here of "varieties of a democratic experience." If this blunt assessment comes as a shock, it does so only because of the wishful thinking in the West about what kind of political and social systems might emerge after the Soviet demise. To the degree that there was once any hope that even a single one of the Central Asian states might develop democratically, sad to say, such hopes are now dwindling, although some still feel that Kyrgyzstan might "make it" without having a revolution to bring about a change in regime. To understand what may seem to be an overly gloomy assessment, we need to consider first what these still-young countries inherited from their experience as parts of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union.

Independence Square, Kiev

Even in an age when democracies were still rather new and democratic ideals not widely shared throughout the world, the Russian Empire was behind the democratic curve. Only when forced to at the beginning of the twentieth century did the Russian Emperor grant a constitution and a modicum of parliamentary government, and then he fought to limit its powers and to retain as much authoritarian control as possible. The ancient regime fell in 1917 not because of any widespread popular commitment to democratic principles but because of the failures of government, failures that in part might legitimately be attributed to its unwillingness to allow for the development of meaningful political participation. The pressures of modern war were too great for an empire with an "underdeveloped" economy, a huge gulf separating rich and poor, and incompetent political leadership. Without World War I Russia might have gradually developed meaningful parliamentary democracy. However, the war prevented that from happening and exacerbated social unrest, which played into the hands of a dedicated but small group of revolutionaries. Nothing in the Imperial Russian experience could have meaningfully served as the basis for development of democratic institutions under a new regime that gave lip service to democratic principles, but in fact imposed centralized, one-party control (this was known as "democratic centralism").

The rhetoric "evil empire" substantially oversimplifies the complexity of the Soviet experience. Yet there can be no question but that the Soviet political system was totally at odds with western (in particular, American) concepts of democracy. As in the case of the post-Soviet states, there developed some of the external trappings of democracy—a constitution proclaiming to guarantee basic human rights, an extensive body of law and a court system, and various levels of elected organs of government. Until Mikhail Gorbachev, no opposition to centrally determined policies was tolerated, and key decisions were made by the upper echelons of the single, legal, Communist Party. While at the lower levels elected councils (soviets) had some meaningful input into the implementation of government policies, they were only a façade of "constitutional" government. Elections offered no choice of candidates and served merely as a mechanism for affirmation of the regime's claim to legitimacy. This is not to say that local and even national political figures could

or would invariably ignore what were perceived as the needs of ordinary people. However, to the degree that such needs were met, it was not because of anything resembling meaningful political participation. The interests of state, if not purely private interests of the political elite, always ranked ahead of the interests of the commonwealth. In the first instance, the career patterns of those who rose through the political ranks in this system would guarantee that they defend the status quo, their own positions, and those who benefited most directly from their patronage. It is clear that in practice statute law trumped higher law, the commonwealth was not served and freedoms were not protected. Insofar as diversity was encouraged, this was not as a matter of principle, but as a calculated means of ultimately achieving uniformity in society. There was nothing in the Soviet system, as it became entrenched under Stalin beginning in the late 1920s, that could have provided an understanding of democracy and laid the basis for the genuine development of democratic institutions in the event that the Soviet system collapsed. True, as recent and often controversial scholarship has shown, behind the façade of monolithic and harsh politics, Soviet citizens often did develop strategies for defending their private and, on the local level, collective interests. However, such strategies had nothing to do with lofty democratic ideals but rather were simply defensive mechanisms for survival.

By the 1980s, after a long period of economic stagnation, the Soviet system was in crisis. Communist Party First Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev came to power determined to revivify and save the system, but not to change it in any fundamental way. The surprising result of his policies of glasnost' (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) was to unleash forces which would break up the Soviet Union. The late 1980s saw strikes and demonstrations, and the beginnings of legal, public criticism of the regime and its policies. The pace with which democratic movements developed varied considerably. The Baltic "Republics" of the Soviet Union (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia) had in fact some memory of western democracy from their brief period of independence following World War I. Thus they were among the first to develop serious independence movements and have continued to set an example for the development of democratic institutions in the post-Soviet world. In contrast, the Central Asian republics were artificial national constructs of the Soviet regime and had never previously experienced independence in territory contiguous with their Soviet republic boundaries. As a result they only reluctantly seized the opportunity for independence and a decade after they achieved it are far from having democratic institutions. True, a democratic past as a nation is not necessarily a prerequisite for or guarantee of a democratic future, but having such a past could help a great deal.

Our examination of the case of Central Asia will begin with an overview of political developments since 1991 in each of the five countries—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. Then we will synthesize some of the reasons for the failure of democratization and, in conclusion, suggest the principal challenges for the future. Our focus will be on the first three of these countries—the ones of greatest interest to Americans and for the lessons they may teach about the obstacles to democratic development in the region.

KAZAKHSTAN

Considerations of geopolitics, demographics and economic resources are very relevant to an understanding of the politics and societies of the countries of Central Asia. Kazakhstan, the largest of the Central Asian states, is blessed with abundant natural resources (most notably vast petroleum reserves), and shares a long border with Russia. In certain respects, the situation of Kazakhstan is unique, primarily because the titular ethnic group, Kazakhs, at the time of independence constituted less than half the population, being outnumbered by

Russians, Ukrainians and several other ethno-linguistic groups. Kazakhstan was an excellent example of a Soviet republic that was largely an artificial creation: encompassing a region once largely inhabited by Kazakhs or other nomadic peoples who spoke Turkic languages, this area, even well before the Bolshevik Revolution, had come to include large numbers of non-Kazakhs—farmers, miners, and small but growing numbers of urban workers. While some sense of what might constitute Kazakh identity had begun to develop among a few Kazakh intellectuals prior to 1917, the Soviet regime was responsible for institutionalizing a sense of Kazakh cultural nationhood, something to which the non-Kazakhs in Kazakhstan could not be expected to subscribe. Non-Kazakhs tended to adopt the typical colonizers' view of the "natives" and saw no reason to learn the Kazakh language. In fact, the development of the Soviet education system in the republic meant that many educated Kazakhs forgot their own tongue or in most circumstances chose to use the commonly understood language, Russian. Other aspects of Kazakh tradition—notably their nomadic lifestyle—were viewed as having no place in the modernizing Soviet world, but the process of "modernization" and "sovietization" was not intended to create a sense of community and loyalty to Kazakhstan, as opposed to some sense of belonging to the larger Soviet community and polity.

That Kazakhs resented Russian political and economic hegemony became clear in 1986. The appointment that year of a Russian official as head of the Communist Party in Kazakhstan provoked serious popular protests in the Kazakh capital, Alma Ata. This should not be taken as a sign that government officials could rule only with the consent of the governed, but was at least an indication that popular discontent might well need to be taken into account if the government was to rule effectively. The prime minister of the Kazakh republic at the time was a rising star in the Soviet political elite, Nursultan Nazarbayev, a Kazakh who would be appointed to the key post of Communist Party First Secretary in 1989 and assumed the republic presidency in 1990, and through uncontested "elections" and other maneuvering since, has ensured that he will be president for life. Nazarbayev's career is typical of that of most current Central Asian leaders. He was a Soviet-era bureaucrat who seized the opportunity to consolidate his rule in undemocratic ways and ensure that genuine political pluralism would not emerge.

Some analysts remind us of the difficult situation Nazarbayev has faced precisely because of the ethnic division of the population of Kazakhstan. In his first years in power he seems to have entertained the idea that Kazakhstan would really be better off not as an independent country but rather reunited (or at least closely federated) with some kind of rejuvenated Soviet Union. The danger seemed to be that the northern, primarily non-Kazakh areas of the country would either be annexed by or attempt to split off and join Russia. One of the primary tasks Nazarbayev faced was "nation-building" in a country that had no sense of national unity. For

VIEWPOINTS ON:

KAZAKHSTAN

INDEPENDENCE 19 DECEMBER 1991 DECLARED

Nothing much has changed - I've just got older. Five years ago I was unemployed. Then everything got sorted out, and I'm doing the job I was trained for. Were it not for help from my children, things would be harder. A builder's salary now is insufficient to cover expenses and costs. But the thing that is extremely annoying is the lawlessness on the streets and the chaos in state structures. The bureaucrats don't have time for anyone but themselves and lining their own pockets.

-Alexander He, 55, builder

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Kazakhstan to develop the basis for a harmonious multi-ethnic future would require, however, that the non-Kazakh population see its interests served by a government in which it played a meaningful role. That has not in fact happened, as Kazakhs dominate the key positions in the government, and real power lies increasingly in the hands of Nazarbayev and his family. Some see in Kazakh politics the influence of the traditional clan structures that antedate the Russian incorporation of Kazakhstan. To the extent that this is true, non-Kazakhs can never have a meaningful place in the system: whereas once it was the Russians who dictated to the Kazakhs, the situation has now been reversed. One consequence of the inability of the government to build the basis for multi-ethnic loyalty is that non-Kazakhs have been leaving the country in large numbers, taking with them some of the educated expertise that is vital for economic development. Where they once were a minority, Kazakhs now form a bare majority in their country, and the balance is continuing to shift in their favor.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

UKRAINE

INDEPENDENCE DECLARED 24 AUGUST 1991

I remember as a child I really thought: "How good that I live in the USSR, the best country in the world!" And now that great country is no more. Even the economy is in tatters. I used to try to sell things at the market, although I have higher education and am a music teacher. Thankfully my husband has now found a good job, so I can stay at home for now with my baby.

-Svetlana, housewife, Kiev

In the period between 1990, when partly contested republic elections were held to the national soviet, and 1995, when Nazarbayev dissolved the parliament, there was some evidence of incipient political pluralism. Relatively unfettered political debate was possible, and some potential candidates for the presidency began to emerge. The turning point came in 1995. When the parliament became too obstructionist for Nazarbayev's taste, he dissolved it and ruled by decree for the better part of a year. He also instituted a new constitution and managed by referendum to extend his presidential term by another five years. The new constitution, which is still in place, reserves for the president political powers that for all intents deprive the parliament of any meaningful role in decisions and appointments. Even though several political parties formed in the run-up to the presidential election in January 1999, most were, in effect, the creations of the regime. The control of the media largely by members of the president's family has meant that opposition candidates really have no effective means to compete against government candidates. In the past two years, the government has moved against any political figures that might constitute a threat to the regime, using what now has become the typical tactic of indicting them for corruption or other malfeasance. Surely this is a good example of the pot calling the kettle black, but with the force of the police and judicial apparatus to back up the accusation.

As things currently stand, the political picture in Kazakhstan is bleak by any standards of democracy. The president rules as an autocrat; there is no end to his term in sight, given the fact he is in a position to manipulate the constitution pretty much at will. In the judgment of western observers, the elections that have been held were unfairly contested. The Kazakh media, while still showing surprising signs of vigor, have experienced a steady erosion of their independence. Self-censorship is the norm, the president's family or those close to him control all the major media outlets, and journalists

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Lavra Monastery, Kiev

whose criticism touches a nerve are silenced. Prosecutors and courts abuse libel laws as a means of silencing alternative views. In short, there is nothing resembling genuine public process and debate. One recent news article raised the possibility that the Nazarbayev regime may have begun to alienate a combination of business and political interests to such a degree that opposition forces will coalesce, but so far that is only speculation.

A key factor in this gloomy picture is the control of economic resources, which in the case of Kazakhstan are substantial. In the first instance this means oil, but there are also valuable mineral resources. Kazakhstan has actively been courted by the international community because of the oil and has benefited from substantial foreign investment. However, contracts have often been arbitrarily torn up and the fees required to obtain them siphoned into the pockets and foreign bank accounts of the ruling elite rather than being used to address the very serious social and economic problems facing the great majority of the Kazakh population. Only gradually has the Kazakh government taken seriously the necessity of establishing, at least in the commercial sphere, a reliable juridical framework to encourage economic development and investment. However, so far that effort has not extended to creating transparency in many kinds of economic transactions. Political controls may be ensuring stability (the argument is that without authoritarian politics the sprawling country might disintegrate along ethnic or regional lines) but it is a stability designed to protect the interests of the few. Genuine democratization and the relative chaos of democratic politics would not be in the interests of the Kazakh elite. Unfortunately the same picture can be found in most of the other Central Asian states.

UZBEKISTAN

With the largest population of any Central Asian state (some 25 million) and its strategic location in the south-central part of the region, Uzbekistan is considered by some analysts potentially the most important politically of all these states. Unfortunately, its recent political history is strikingly similar to that of Kazakhstan. Authoritarian rule in Uzbekistan has been the norm right from the moment of independence, and by most accounts, its regime is the more repressive of the two. Uzbekistan was another case where on the eve of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, dictates from Moscow provoked the disaffection of at least some in the distant republic. In the Uzbek case, the issue was the arrest of the local party leader on corruption charges stemming from

falsification of the figures for the cotton harvest. As required by Moscow's dictates regarding economic planning, cotton was the principal economic contribution of Uzbekistan to the rest of the Soviet Union. Clearly by the late Soviet period, Uzbek leaders and intellectuals had begun to support policies and ideas aimed at carving out some modicum of meaningful autonomy, at least culturally, from the dictates of Moscow. So there was a basis of incipient dissatisfaction on which independence might be built, even though for ordinary Uzbeks there probably was no articulated sense of national identity.

In contrast to Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan is culturally more homogeneous—about 80 percent of the population being Uzbek and a significant percentage Tajik, linguistically different but sharing some of the same cultural values. Without the artificial boundaries erected by the Soviet regime between the Tajiks and Uzbeks, there would undoubtedly have been an even more pronounced sense of sharing in a common culture based to a considerable degree on Central Asian traditions. Ironically, in areas where Tajiks (speaking a language very close to Persian) and Uzbeks (speaking a Turkic language) do not know each other's tongue, the medium of communication is generally Russian, something that is likely to cease being the case with the maturing of the younger generation.

Like Nazarbayev, Islam Karimov, the president of Uzbekistan since independence, simply assumed his new position on the strength of his being first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party. And like Nazarbayev, he was hesitant to seize the opportunity for independence until he was certain which way power would fall at the time of the August 1991 coup attempt against Gorbachev. Not being faced with the same challenges of location and demographics, as was Nazarbayev, Karimov could more readily use independence to consolidate his power rapidly. At the time of Uzbek independence, the Birlik (Unity) movement, an incipient political party with rather wide backing, had already developed, its platform advocating political reform and greater government efforts to deal with the ecological and economic problems of Uzbekistan. From the very start of his regime, though, Karimov did all he could to undermine Birlik, first encouraging a split in its ranks, recognizing the splinter Erk (Freedom) group as a legal political party, but then squeezing it out of any meaningful political role. The leaders of both Birlik and Erk were soon forced to flee the country, and by 1993 organized political opposition became impossible. Only recently, the Uzbek government tried to have the Erk leader deported from Europe to face trial at home and a predictable imprisonment. The Uzbek internal security apparatus is pervasive, and especially since an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Karimov in 1999, has stepped up its repression of even the most harmless potential opposition.

As in the case of Kazakhstan, the Uzbek president has manipulated the constitution and elections to extend his term in office into the indefinite future and reserve full authority to make all key political decisions and appointments. There has been some discussion of changing the formal parliamentary structure from unicameral to bicameral, ostensibly to broaden representation and make parliament more effective. However, such a change would have no impact on political decision-making. As in the Kazakh case, the control of regional governments by presidential appointees guarantees that local elections will return the candidates the government wants. We do not always know the details or real significance of traditional clan or regional loyalties in the working of Uzbek politics. Yet it seems clear that, as in the Kazakh case, they play a role. Just as clearly, clan or regional politics have nothing to do with democracy, as we would understand it, since they do not mean that ordinary people have any input into the political process.

From the very beginning of his regime, Karimov's rationale for authoritarian control has been to maintain the stability necessary to ensure badly needed economic growth. Thus, he has

looked to the model of authoritarian regimes in Asia that have had some success in promoting economic development while at the same time resisting political change. Increasingly the Karimov regime has seen as the main threat to its control the revival of Islam within Uzbekistan and the threat of "militant" Islam from without. In events such as the 1999 bombing in Tashkent, the government has found it convenient to blame "Islamists," even though some observers suspect the perpetrators were potential rivals within the government. Areas such as the Ferghana Valley in Eastern Uzbekistan have been the ones most receptive to a revival of conservative Islamic values, but the government response has been to arrest or (it is assumed) do away with local religious leaders who have become too popular. The American "War on Terrorism" has provided a convenient excuse for Karimov to crack down even more harshly on potential dissidents or leaders of popular movements.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

ESTONIA

The collapse of the Soviet Union was a great blessing for me because straightaway there were many interesting opportunities for work and study. It gave us the motivation to carry on living. But it's true that in the Soviet Union there was not the need to sell oneself that has appeared with today's market economy.

- Anneli Berends, town official, 41, Tallinn

True, not all the targets of Uzbek government action are necessarily harmless to an avowedly secular regime determined to maintain stability. The militant Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), with links to the Taliban and al-Qaeda, has as its goal the violent overthrow of the Uzbek government. The group seems to be small and may have been substantially undermined by losses during its involvement in the recent Afghan war, but it has been able to exploit the porous borders in the mountains south of the Ferghana Valley to create some instability. A potentially more formidable Islamic movement is the transnational Hizb-ut-Tahrir ("Party of Islamic Liberation"), which claims to support only peaceful change but proclaims its goal to be the establishment of an Islamic caliphate. It too has a base in the Ferghana Valley, although it also has supporters in adjoining areas of southern Kyrgyzstan and in Tajikistan.

As in the case of Kazakhstan, an important subtext for Uzbek politics is control of economic development and resources. While there has been some meaningful foreign investment in Uzbekistan, reportedly the contracts go only to those who are willing to pay substantial bribes to Uzbek officials. The inefficient (and ecologically disastrous) emphasis on cotton cultivation has continued despite the complaints at the time of independence that this was an exploitative imposition on the Uzbeks by the authorities in Moscow. The government has not done much to alleviate the relative poverty of much of the population. Yet it has lavished resources on public buildings and commemorations of prominent figures of the past, such as the fifteenth-century conqueror Tamerlane, who have become emblematic of the newly invented "national" history.

Government policies regarding minorities (in particular with regard to the role of the Russian language) have not encouraged their sense of belonging to a common citizenry of Uzbekistan. Many of the best-educated members of the population, who in Soviet "colonial" days occupied key positions, have left. Interethnic tensions thus exist, with the most serious potential problem being the numerical preponderance of Tajiks in some of the historically important centers of the southern part

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of the country (notably Bukhara and Khiva). Despite government efforts to develop the symbols of national identity and promote patriotism, it is not clear that much of the population has been much animated by the campaigns. Official patriotism is no substitute for civic engagement. What little there is of the latter is largely the work of NGOs, which must tread carefully so as not to incur the suspicion of the government. Unfortunately, too many of the services the government might reasonably be expected to provide (for example, good medical care) have to be addressed by NGOs, but with limited resources.

KYRGYZSTAN

A country dominated by some of the highest mountains in the world, with a population of somewhat under five million and a host of economic challenges, Kyrgyzstan nonetheless is strategically important because of its border with China. At least in the first years of independence Kyrgyzstan seemed to be developing some genuine features of democracy. In part the explanation is that the current president, Askar Akayev, is the only Central Asian head of state that was not previously a professional Communist Party apparatchik. That said, like his counterparts in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, he has held power since independence. The country preserves some features that might eventually facilitate the establishment of genuinely democratic institutions, but there have been alarming indications that Akayev is following the other Central Asian heads of state along the path to authoritarian rule.

The characteristic pattern here is the strengthening of the executive power of the president. This has been accomplished in part by constitutional change (three such revisions of the Kyrgyz constitution took place in the 1990s), the manipulation of elections, and/or by the circumvention or overruling of parliamentary actions and stifling of political opposition. Important steps in Akayev's consolidation of power were the 1995 elections, in which key opposition candidates were disqualified at the last minute, and a court ruling in 1998, which allowed him to run for what in effect would be a third (and therefore constitutionally illegal) term in 2000. The politically motivated arrest of a parliamentary critic of Akayev's in early 2002 resulted in public protests that local government officials met with deadly force. As a consequence of continuing public demonstrations, Akayev forced the government to resign, but this did not result in the inclusion of representation from the political opposition when the new government was formed. On the one hand, one might argue that the crisis in 2002 shows the potential for meaningful public impact on the political process, but on the other hand, there is so far no indication that the government is moving away from its policies of undermining the ability of its critics to organize and conduct overt political campaigns. Positions of power are still in the hands of people close to the president and often related to his family, a pattern that is echoed in all the other Central Asian countries today.

As in those other cases, a key issue is control of economic resources, although in some ways Kyrgyzstan has moved much further in the direction of economic liberalization than have its neighbors. Privatization of farming has occurred, and the legal framework for entrepreneurship put in place. Furthermore, the activities of NGOs, many of which have focused on fostering entrepreneurial activity, have been at least mildly encouraged, with many of the NGOs operating with relatively little government interference. This pattern is quite different from what one observes in, say, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. Despite this somewhat encouraging picture as far as the institutional framework for economic development is concerned, the economic realities in Kyrgyzstan are grim. The country is poor in economic resources, and independence of farmers resulted not in their becoming prosperous but rather, in too many

instances, in their very quickly going bankrupt. NGO initiatives that succeeded initially in establishing cooperatives of small producers soon saw their work undermined as members of the local elite gained control of production and distribution. The country's economic problems have been exacerbated by the fact that it is dependent on its neighbors for petroleum, and there have already been disputes with Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan regarding rights to the water from rivers flowing out of the Kyrgyz Mountains, a significant portion of the irrigation water for some areas of those neighboring countries. Increasing demand for scarce water has the potential to lead to serious conflict in the region.

TAJIKISTAN

In many respects, Tajikistan resembles its somewhat less populous Kyrgyz neighbor to the north. It is a country of high mountains and a weak economy. In 2000, its per-capita gross domestic product (a measure of the total economic output, which can be used to estimate prosperity) was a mere $154, and the inflation rate was 33 percent. Strategically its long border with Afghanistan complicates its position. If at least for a time the political situation in Kyrgyzstan gave some optimism about the prospects for democracy in Central Asia, events in Tajikistan have, from the start, been cause for pessimism. The current regime of President Imomali Rakhmonov came to power in 1992 after several months of political instability that broke out at the time of independence. For its first year or so, Rakhmonov's government was engaged in a very destructive civil war, which officially came to an end only in 1997 with an agreement that guaranteed the opposition a place in the government. The civil war was a product of regional political factionalism, exacerbated by the country's geography and ethnic divisions and by the interference of neighboring Uzbekistan and of Russia. Unlike in Uzbekistan, where Islamic politics have been uniformly suppressed, in Tajikistan the political landscape has included an active moderate Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP), which has been allowed to function openly and has collaborated with the government. However, Tajik members of the more "fundamentalist" Hizb-ut-Tahrir (see above) have been arrested. There are indications that growing discontent at the government's inability to address basic economic and social problems is driving many to support the groups with more radical programs. In one assessment, "by 1997 Tajikistan was effectively a failed state, with only the outward appearance of coherence," and it seems clear that in many areas until very recently the government has been too weak to curb the power of local warlords. There has been some recent but still very limited progress in overcoming regional divisions.

The most recent elections—for president in 1999 and parliament in 2000—are generally regarded as seriously flawed. The vast majority of parliamentary seats are occupied by members of the president's own party; analysts have noted how Rakhmonov's tactics have fragmented the opposition and thereby rendered it practically meaningless. At the same time, it seems as though the strength of regional factions may have prevented the president from consolidating his power in the same way that Karimov in Uzbekistan has done. Patronage and traditional loyalties are still central to the politics of the country. Whether Rakhmonov will step down when his term ends in 2006 or whether he will manipulate the system to extend it as his counterparts have been doing remains to be seen.

Among the few encouraging developments in Tajikistan is the survival of a rather weak independent media. This is in sharp contrast to the total government control over the media in Uzbekistan. However, as in Kazakhstan and increasingly in Kyrgyzstan, the Tajik media have come under government pressure, and there have been some egregious examples of intervention to silence critics. Apart from government actions, the media in Tajikistan as in other parts of Central Asia have struggled for want of economic resources.

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Advertising revenues are practically non-existent; most people cannot afford newspapers. Television does not reach many remote areas, and its content often has little of substance on important current events. Rumor is a poor substitute for real news, which might help to create an informed public.

Tajikistan was the poorest of all the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union, and little has occurred since independence to improve the bleak economic picture. This fact and its sharing of a porous border with Afghanistan have contributed to its unenviable reputation as a major channel for drug traffic. One of the few bright spots in building for the future has been the activity of the Aga Khan's programs to encourage self-help development projects and education. The eastern third of Tajikistan (Mountain Badakhshan) is inhabited largely by the Pamiris, who are Ismaili Muslims and whose spiritual leader is the Aga Khan. These development initiatives have involved safeguards to ensure that funding is not simply pocketed by the local elite. An important investment for the future is the establishment of a new university, which the Aga Khan is funding.

TURKMENISTAN

In a discussion of democratization in Central Asia, Turkmenistan requires few words indeed, because there has been no democratization and will be none so long as the current head of state, Saparmurad Niyazov, remains in power. His is a case of a Stalinist personality cult so extreme that Stalin himself might have blushed. It is not uncommon for Niyazov to be characterized as a buffoon for the extremes to which he has taken this cult. In fact, the strategic location of the country on the southern flank of the former Soviet Central Asia (Iran and Afghanistan occupy its southern borders) and its control of immense reserves of natural gas mean that Turkmenistan has to be taken seriously. Unfortunately, for all the potential wealth, ordinary people have seen few benefits, since so many resources have been used to build extravagant presidential palaces, mosques, gilded statues of the great leader that rotate to face the sun, and luxury hotels that remain largely empty since so few foreigners have any reason to visit the country. The only significant opposition voices to have emerged are from members of the elite who dared to speak up only when safely abroad in diplomatic or other capacities. The government response, naturally, has been to accuse them of various kinds of malfeasance and try to secure their extradition.

THE REASONS WHY

With these bleak histories of the past decade in Central Asian politics as background, we might summarize some of the key institutional features of these states to help us understand the lack of democratic development.

First, though, it is worthwhile emphasizing that the terminology of democratic politics may conceal practices that are anything but democratic. Even the U.S. State Department, which justifiably assesses the human rights records of these regimes in such negative terms, describes them as having republican governments and notes the existence of constitutions that ostensibly frame a political system of checks and balances, guarantee basic rights, and provide for elections. Were constitutional law to be upheld in a meaningful way, then at least some meaningful elements of what we would judge democracy might be found. Unfortunately, much of what we see on paper has little to do with anything but the most superficial aspects of political reality.

Most Western observers of politics agree on a range of features characteristic of democracies. We talk of the ability of the public to exercise citizenship, which requires that there be institutions of civil society providing a sphere of activity autonomous from government control and direction. Furthermore, there has to be an administrative and legal framework that can function honest-

ly and transparently. Diversity of opinion and individual rights must be protected. Government must be responsive to the public. There have to be mechanisms such as fair and free elections to hold those in government accountable. The public must have the opportunity to be informed from sources that may provide a diversity of views. Thus, an independent media is important. Many would insist as well that there couldn't be meaningful democracy without the existence of private enterprise and a strong middle class.

Now, we need not argue whether all such features must be present for a political system to be democratic. The important question here is whether any of them are to be found in Central Asia. For the most part, the answer is no.

The challenges to democratic development exist at all levels. Recent analysis has suggested that to a considerable degree the nature of elite politics, inherited from the Soviet era, is responsible. Key figures in the political leadership of all these countries were also Soviet-era functionaries, educated in a system that was anti-democratic, and in the post-independence era, dedicated to preserving their political power by any means. Close analysis of the makeup of the elites ten years after independence does reveal a substantial representation of a new membership, but these individuals do not owe their emergence to any kind of democratic process but rather to their being co-opted into a system already in place and enjoying the patronage of the leadership that emerged in the 1990s. In many instances the new elite's basis for power is its control of economic resources rather than its political background. A key question for any attempt to project the future of politics in Central Asia is whether the current elite will come to realize that its interests may not be best served by encouraging meaningful popular participation in government. So far that has not happened, and politics are governed from the top down. Some may argue, not without justification, that the current shape of politics is simply a continuation of the previous traditions in many parts of Central Asian society, whereby patronage and power were personalized and generally exercised through clan or tribal structures that guaranteed loyalty. It would probably be a mistake, however, to assume that such tradition is so entrenched that it has to govern politics into the indefinite future.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

UZBEKISTAN

Our family came to Uzbekistan in the 1970s. We didn't think it would be for long, but it turned out to be for 30 years. I've always wanted to go back to my homeland, but the children were at school, and then life got more difficult. They declared independence. At the beginning of the 1990s, when anti-European feelings ran high, the children went back to Russia. It's been difficult for me, of course, and I'm dependent on money from my son. I will move back too when they have enough money.

-Lidia Aleksandrovna, pensioner

At least for now, the control over politics by authoritarian leaders has been ensured by their ability to manipulate constitutions, elections and elected institutions. Thus, presidential terms keep being extended, political parties or opposition politicians discredited or subjected to persecution, and political positions filled by appointees or by those selected by such appointees. While all the Central Asian states have some kind of parliament, none of those bodies has for long, if at all, been able to operate as a counterbalance to overwhelming executive power. Nowhere in Central Asia are there opposition political parties with an institutional base and the means to contest elections

effectively. Governments have erected barriers to registration and have devised means to fragment the opposition. Those who might represent serious opposition have been suppressed, leaders arrested or driven abroad.

Such actions have been possible in part because of the control and manipulation of the judiciary. None of the Central Asian countries has an independent judicial branch, since in all cases the extension of executive power has given the presidents or the ministers they appoint the control over judicial appointments. This is merely a continuation of the situation that existed in the Soviet Union, which, of course, under Stalin was known for its show trials illustrating how the regime wished to give an aura of legality to its suppression of real or imagined political opponents. Politically motivated legal proceedings are among the human rights abuses catalogued in detail in the U. S. State Department's reports.

Such abuse of government power is facilitated by the weakness if not total absence of independent media. A signal of what would be the norm in Uzbekistan was seen in the first days of independence in 1991, when the local government-controlled media, in response to criticisms raised in Moscow (where a substantial freedom of the media had developed), printed facsimiles of documents purporting to show that the Uzbek media were independent. Such "documentation," of course, was no different from a constitution that claims to guarantee political freedoms at the same time that the police are rounding up any who spoke out against the government. In Kazakhstan, which at one time had a fairly vigorous independent media, increasingly the noose has been tightening; most significantly, the sale of licenses to authorize radio and television broadcasting has resulted in these key media ending up in the hands of members of President Nazarbayev's family or their close associates. Deprived of independent media outlets, potential opposition political movements are severely undermined if they wish to gain a following and be able to compete in elections. The populace may know of official malfeasance on the basis of personal experience, but without critical investigative journalism, such malfeasance is generally unlikely to spark coordinated movements for political change. A profound level of corruption distinguishes all the Central Asian countries, which is totally antithetical to any possibility of democratic development.

It is not enough to note that "opposition" exists and thus to see this as evidence of democratic possibilities within these Central Asian states. Opposition movements may themselves not be dedicated to or understand democratic principles. Wishing to replace an existing regime may mean merely wishing to exercise power and ensure privilege in the same fashion. For opposition movements to hold the promise of real democratic pluralism requires that there be an accepted legal and institutional framework to support democracy. Such a framework does not currently exist in any of the Central Asian countries.

THE FUTURE

Is there any hope for democratic change in Central Asia? Most analysts are justifiably pessimistic. Even Kyrgyzstan, the one Central Asian country that seemed to hold promise for real democracy, has moved decisively in an authoritarian direction. All the political leaders have taken steps to extend their terms in power and ensure that the electoral process will not dethrone them. The suppression of opposition figures proceeds apace. We may not even begin to sense the possibilities for the future until the time comes when the current presidents die or, possibly, attempt to transfer power to designated successors.

Given the depth of economic and social problems in most of these countries and the disparities between the wealth of small elites and the mass of their populations, the transition in political power could well create instability, which would then be

exacerbated by possible discontent. We have seen only a few hints of such discontent so far (e.g., in the recent political confrontation in Kyrgyzstan); so it would be unwise to project genuine popular revolution. Even if it were to happen, the result, as we know from the experience of other revolutions, may not be the establishment of democracy. Many have noted how the policies of the current regimes seem to be having as an unintended consequence the radicalization of groups that might otherwise be willing to participate peacefully in the political process. In particular such observations have been made about moderate Islamic groups, suppressed by the government of Uzbekistan and to a considerable degree discredited in Tajikistan. Thus in certain regions, especially among the young population, which seems to have little hope for the future, there has emerged some support for radical Islamic political movements. Ironically, then, the suppression of moderate Muslims in the name of suppressing dangerous Islamic radicalism has backfired.

Another challenge for the future lies in the multi-ethnic nature of the Central Asian states. Is it possible for political stability to be maintained and democracy to develop in a situation where national borders often divide major ethnic groups and where governments may be adopting policies that emphasize exclusiveness and unity rather than the creation of a framework for pluralism? Many analysts agree that in the short term, the most important priority has to be simply the creation of democratic institutions, but at the same time the issue of pluralism will need to be addressed. Perhaps the most serious challenge is in Kazakhstan, where Kazakhs currently have political preference for almost all the key government positions. The out-migration of non-Kazakhs since independence and high birth rates have shifted the population balance—Kazakhs are as yet only slightly more than half the population. Apart from Kazakhstan, there are other areas where the potential for ethnic violence and state disintegration is substantial. On the eve of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, there were major riots pitting Uzbeks against Kyrgyz in the southern Kyrgyz city of Osh at the head of the volatile Ferghana Valley. The patchwork nature of national borders separating Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan in that region is a source of continuing tension. In Uzbekistan prior to 1991, there were serious incidents in which Uzbeks set upon a Meshkhetian Turkish minority (a population that had been forcibly resettled in Central Asia by Stalin). The current Uzbek government policy of undermining opportunities for Tajik-language education has potentially serious consequences, given the preponderance of Tajiks in some of the southern regions of Uzbekistan. It is not clear that the current government in Tajikistan can be expected to hold together a country that likewise has substantial ethnic diversity and strong regional centers of political power. The list of such problems can readily be multiplied, and the dangers posed by nationalist exclusionary politics are real.

VIEWPOINTS ON:
LITHUANIA
INDEPENDENCE
11 MARCH 1990
DECLARED
In 1991 I unexpectedly lost my job and had to begin a new life. For a few years I used to travel to Turkey with large suitcases, buy cheap goods, and sell them here at the market. I remember how ashamed I was when I met people at the market who remembered me from my past life. But in time those exhausting trips raised enough capital for my friends and I to open a hairdressers.
-Rasa Martsinkyavichnye, 53, hairdresser

One of the hopes for democratic change is to build gradually, from the ground up, the institutions of civil society. Ironically, perhaps, in the eyes

of one astute student of Central Asia, one of the most important building blocks in the foundation of what might become "civil society" is the Soviet-era institution of the Collective Farm, which has served as a mechanism to provide for the needs of its members in a variety of ways. However, the collective farms institutionalize patronage, not democratic participation, and cannot be expected to serve as the basis for the development of private entrepreneurship. The Uzbek government has also promoted the urban mahallas, local neighborhood councils that can serve as a kind of low-level mechanism for administration and welfare. However, this does not mean the strengthening of institutions that might lead to democratic change. Rather, what we have here is the example of co-opting communal institutions to serve the government's purpose.

If institutions of civil society are to develop, the responsibility will probably fall to NGOs, for the creation of which there really is no precedent in the region. A substantial amount of foreign investment has supported their establishment, but with very uneven results. Among the more significant efforts have been ones aimed at developing standards of professional journalism, at addressing serious medical and environmental problems, and at developing the financial mechanisms to support small enterprises. The greatest successes are to be seen in Kyrgyzstan, in large part because there the government has felt less threatened by NGO activity than have the governments of the other Central Asian countries. Notably, the climate in Turkmenistan has been thoroughly hostile to NGO development; in Uzbekistan NGOs live in the shadow of government disapproval. Unfortunately, even where NGO development has not been hampered by government interference, it has been difficult to develop an understanding that the organizations are not simply devices for funneling foreign funds into private pockets. The greatest successes have come when communities have been brought to understand that NGO activity can empower them to solve local problems precisely because a concentration of even meager local resources and the will to cooperate in their use can often make a significant impact. Whether this NGO development can serve as the catalyst for what might become meaningful local political participation remains to be seen.

There is some potential for pressure by the international community to bring about political change in Central Asia. Clearly, at least some of the governments are very sensitive to international criticism, since that can affect the levels of economic support and military aid that they may receive. So far, it seems that the United States, in its eagerness to negotiate for use of Central Asia as a staging area for the Afghan War, has not done enough to insist on the necessity for meaningful political change and the observance of basic norms of human rights. There is a real danger here of providing too much support for repressive regimes that may prove to be a cause for instability rather than guarantors of the future stability of the region. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has done some monitoring of elections and is involved in other projects that could promote democracy and economic development. So far, however, the OSCE commitment to the region is very small and would need to be substantially increased if it is to have much impact.

In conclusion, it is clear that Western optimism about democratic development out of the ruins of the Soviet Union was naive and arguably based more on wishful thinking than on any kind of informed assessment of political, economic and social realities. Having seen the realities that have emerged even in a country as well endowed with natural resources as Kazakhstan, some predict not success in state-building, but, rather, a failure akin to the one in a country equally blessed with natural wealth, Nigeria. The concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a corrupt elite is both symptomatic of and responsible for the dismal political and economic picture there. Others

would compare Central Asian states with South America, where some countries are still struggling with serious economic and political problems, but the democratic process has also seen some successes. However, there is little merit to the arguments of some Central Asian presidents such as Nazarbayev and Karimov that authoritarian controls in the short term are essential to maintain stability that can ensure democratic development in the future. There is at present no clear indication of how a transition to a democratic future might take place. Increasingly, the predictions are that the current stability will ultimately result in violent instability unless mechanisms are developed to encourage meaningful participation in the political process by groups that are being suppressed in the current situation.

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There is a substantial literature containing scholarly analysis and debate on specific topics relevant to the question of democratization in the former Soviet Union. See, for example, Vladimir Shlapentokh et al., eds., The New Elite in Post-Communist Eastern Europe (Texas A & M Press, 1999), which includes an excellent analysis of the Kazakh political elite by Rustem Kadyzhanov and an overly optimistic analysis of the elite in Uzbekistan by William Kandinov. While the main focus is not on Central Asia, there are some stimulating ideas in Graham Smith, The Post-Soviet States: Mapping the Politics of Transition (Arnold, 1999). The title notwithstanding, a lot of relevance to Central Asia can be found in Will Kymlicka and Magda Opalski, eds., Can Liberal Pluralism Be Exported? Western Political Theory and Ethnic Relations in Eastern Europe (Oxford University Press, 2001). One essay deals specifically with Uzbekistan.

Fortunately for those wishing to keep up with current politics in Central Asia, there are several excellent resources available through the Internet. In addition to short daily news reports, regular reporting of some substance is available in the weekly "RFE/RL Central Asia Report" from Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. It is archived at www.rferl.org/centralasia/, and one may receive the weekly electronic mailing free by subscribing at www.rferl.centralasia/contact.asp. One-stop shopping linking the RFERL daily reports, but also providing a variety of other analysis, materials, and links, is to be found at the Soros Foundation's Eurasianet (www.eurasianet.org). Another good source of analytical news articles is the bi-weekly Central Asia Caucasus Analyst (www.cacianalyst.org), published and archived on the web by the Central Asia Caucasus Institute at Johns Hopkins University. A significant focus of each issue is on the Caucasus; there is an emphasis

on the international dimensions of the news stories and on what we might call "political economy."

Several recent reports on Central Asia that can be read on-line or downloaded in printable Adobe format (.pdf-format) have been produced by the International Crisis Group (www.crisisweb.org). These are written by some of the best-informed experts on the region. While the purpose of the reports is to point out areas of crisis that should be of concern both to the governments in Central Asia and to the international community, the reports generally provide a substantial amount of carefully researched background material and also draw upon extensive interviewing. The reports devoted to specific countries are the single best source of information about each country's respective recent political history. The ICG reports include Uzbekistan at Ten: Repression and Instability (21 August 2001); Kyrgyzstan at Ten: Trouble in the "Island of Democracy" (28 August 2001); Kyrgyzstan's Political Crisis: An Exit Strategy (20 August 2002); Tajikistan: An Uncertain Peace (24 December 2001); Central Asia: Islamist Mobilisation and Regional Security (1 March 2001); a briefing paper, 30 January 2002, The IMU and the Hizb-ut-Tahrir: Implications of the Afghanistan Campaign; Central Asia: Border Disputes and Conflict Potential (2 April 2002); Central Asia: Water and Conflict (30 May 2002); The OSCE in Central Asia: A New Strategy (11 September 2002).

While representing the official viewpoint of the U.S. government, the U.S. State Department (www.state.gov) does offer on-line background information for Central Asian countries and, in separate files, annual, detailed human rights reports. The information in the latter is probably reliable and seems to be based, in the first instance, on material gathered by international human rights organizations. Further information on human rights issues can be found in the very extensive materials made available in electronic form by Human Rights Watch (www.hrw.org).

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Why Has Post-Communist Democratization Been So Difficult?

By Stephen E. Hanson, University of Washington

When the Berlin Wall fell in 1989—setting in motion the collapse of every Communist regime in Europe including, by 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) itself—most analysts thought that the stage was set for a long era of stable democracy throughout Eastern Europe and Eurasia. Respected scholars discussed a "fourth wave" of global democratization to complete the process begun with the "first wave" of democracy in nineteenth century Europe, the "second wave" after World War I, and the "third wave" after World War II. The vision of a peaceful and democratic "North," circling the globe from Vancouver to Vladivostok, captivated the minds of both politicians and ordinary people on both sides of the former Iron Curtain. One author famously declared that with the collapse of Communism, humanity had reached the "end of history" itself, since, in his view, no anti-democratic ideology could ever again successfully challenge the Western global order.

As the twenty-first century begins, however, the picture is decidedly more mixed, and the obstacles to completing the democratization of Eurasia seem more daunting than ever. True, democracy seems firmly established in most of the post-Communist countries that directly border Western Europe—Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, and Slovenia. Both Croatia and Serbia have made major democratic advances since the disastrous breakup of the former Yugoslavia led to a decade of civil war. But while most of the other European post-Communist countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Romania, Moldova, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Ukraine, Russia, Armenia, and Georgia—continue to hold regular elections, the quality of their democracies is undermined by unstable political parties, weak judiciaries, and highly corrupt state institutions. Finally, several important post-Communist countries have slid back into complete autocracy, including Belarus, Azerbaijan, and all five of the Central Asian former Soviet republics (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan).

Why has post-Communist democratization been so difficult? Why has so much of the territory of the former Soviet bloc suffered prolonged social dislocation, institutional breakdown, and even civil war? This question is of momentous importance, not only to the peoples living in Eastern Europe and Eurasia, but to all of us. The former Soviet Union covered one sixth of the earth's landed surface, and thus long-term instability there and in Eastern Europe is likely to have dangerous consequences for the rest of the globe—especially since the region is still the site of tens of thousands of (poorly guarded) nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. Conversely, we know that consolidated democracies tend not to fight wars with one another, tend to generate long-term economic growth, and tend to be strongly allied with the United States. So if a

way can be found to complete the democratization process begun in 1989, the world is likely to become a much safer and more prosperous place.

This short essay will try to explain the shortcomings of the post-Communist "transition to democracy." First, I'll emphasize just how recent and unusual fully-inclusive democratic institutions really are—not only in the post-Communist region, but also globally. I'll then discuss two of the most commonly cited obstacles to democratization in the former Communist countries: political culture and legacies of the Communist past. I will argue that while each of these factors plays a role in hindering democratic consolidation, neither of them completely forecloses the possibility of stable democratic outcomes. Finally, I'll argue that a third factor—namely, the ideological belief in democracy as a positive ideal—remains the single most important predictor of success in achieving consolidated post-Communist democracy.

DEMOCRACY IS NOT EASY

The first thing one should realize when discussing the problems of democratization in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is that these problems are hardly unusual in the world today. Indeed, from a historical and global perspective, it is countries like the United States and the nations of Western Europe, with their stable and highly legitimate democratic institutions that are the exception. Most of the world is still sadly burdened with corrupt, non-responsive, and often callous forms of government. American students often find it difficult to accept this point. Americans tend to believe that the U.S. political system is a good model for the entire world, and we are surprised when other countries do not successfully adopt our institutions. It is worth emphasizing, then, that until about 150 years ago—out of about 10,000 years of recorded human social history, and about 8 million years of human evolution—no society in the world granted its entire population the right to vote in regular elections for political leadership. The earliest forms of human government involved collective decisionmaking by male elders of the village or tribe. Most organized states throughout history have been empires, monarchies, or dictatorships. Experiments with democracy in small city-states, such as Athens in Ancient Greece, excluded most of the population, including slaves, women, workers, and foreigners.

Modern democracy emerged in Western Europe and North America only when political philosophers and mobilized citizens in these places began to argue that all individuals are—in the words of the U.S. Declaration of Independence—"created equal" and "endowed . . . with certain inalienable rights." Of course, the earliest "liberal democracies"—so named because of their emphasis on protecting the "liberty" of each individual citizen—continued to exclude slaves, women, and the poor from political participation. In the United States, for example, the right to vote was extended to women only in 1920, and until the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, African-Americans in much of the country were still effectively barred from the ballot box. Yet the idea of rights-based democracy, institutionalized through the periodic election of popular representatives and the creation of a durable system of checks and balances among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, has proven powerful enough to inspire previously excluded groups to fight successfully for their own political rights. Today, most Western European and North American countries are fully consolidated democracies. Relatively inclusive democracies have also been established throughout South America, in many Asian countries, in the world's most populous country, India, and in a small but growing number of countries in Africa as well.

But if we tend to underestimate how recent full-fledged democracy really is, we also often forget just how many institutions must be established and stabilized before Western-style repre-

VIEWPOINTS ON:

ARMENIA

I lost my country in which law prevailed, education was free, and work was guaranteed. Relations between people were much more humane. Ten years ago I didn't think that Armenia's independence would lead to so many problems and privations. I have two children. I have to pay for their study. My salary is nowhere near enough to feed the family, let alone pay college fees. So I'm constantly in debt, and have to think up alternative sources of income. All anyone talks about now is how to earn money or leave for the West.

-Hamlet Amiragan, pharmacist

sentative democracy can function well. Strong political parties, like the U.S. Republican and Democratic Parties, are vital in providing voters with well-defined political alternatives and in organizing legislative representatives into coherent political blocs. Establishing a strong and independent judiciary, in which judges cannot easily be bribed or corrupted by powerful interest groups, also takes patience and determination. Even seemingly more basic institutions, such as a network of local polling places that faithfully observe the rules of secret balloting and open access to registered voters, can be very difficult to set up in a newly formed democracy. Yet without strong parties, a dependable judiciary, or trustworthy local electoral officials, "democracy" can quickly turn into a mere façade for political manipulation by wealthy, well-connected elites.

Sadly, this is the situation in many if not most of the new non-Western democracies that have been established in the twentieth century. While elections for top leaders have become very widespread in the world today, few of the other necessary institutions to make liberal democracy function as originally intended are in place. Thus democratic politics in the developing world tends to be highly corrupt, power is dependent upon personal ties with existing elites, semi-authoritarian forms of "presidential" rule are common, and ordinary citizens often feel that their votes have no effect whatsoever on state policies. In some places, mass political alienation has led to a renewed fascination with authoritarian leaders who promise that they will eliminate the "inefficiency" and "gridlock" of democracy—although authoritarian regimes in the developing world are generally even more inefficient and stagnant than their democratic competitors.

From this point of view, the struggles of democratic reformers in the post-Communist world to establish, maintain and consolidate key political institutions are remarkably similar to those of democratic activists elsewhere. From the U.S. or Western European perspective, the record of post-Communist democracy thus far may appear rather dismal; but from a deeper historical perspective, the fact that so many countries in the region remain committed to democratic forms of rule as the twenty-first century begins is a remarkable achievement. Still, there is no denying that the problems with democracy discussed above could erode this achievement in the years to come. We must therefore turn our attention to the key factors thought by scholars to explain why so few post-Communist countries have built fully consolidated democracies thus far.

IS "CULTURE" THE PROBLEM?

One common explanation for the problems of countries like Russia, Ukraine, and the Central Asian States in developing democratic institutions refers to the supposed "authoritarian political cultures" of their populations. It is often pointed

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out, for example, that Russia, along with most of the other former Soviet republics, has never had any historical experience with democracy, being ruled for several centuries by tsars, and then for most of the twentieth century by a Communist Party dictatorship. As a result, the argument continues, few Russians (or Ukrainians, or Georgians, or Uzbeks) are in the habit of organizing interest groups or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to fight for their rights, and many may prefer rule by a "strong leader" to the continual compromises and half-measures typical of representative democracy. The popularity of Russian President Vladimir Putin, who with his background in the former Soviet KGB (secret police) and his black belt in judo projects an image of toughness and decisiveness, seems at first glance to confirm this theory. Adherents of this viewpoint also argue that the more "modern" and "Western" political cultures of the countries of Eastern Europe and the Baltic states, due to their more limited exposure to Communism and their greater cultural proximity to Western Europe, make democracy work more effectively there than in the rest of the former Soviet Union.

Food market in Central Asia.

But there are many reasons to doubt that the experience of Soviet rule has somehow rendered the post-Soviet population unfit for democratic rule. First of all, as was emphasized in the previous section, inclusive democracy is new everywhere. So England, France, and Germany could also have been said to have "authoritarian political cultures" prior to the modern era—indeed, as recently as World War II the latter two countries were ruled by fascist dictatorships. Yet today all of these countries are vibrant democracies. Evidently, political cultures can change—and do so rather quickly. Second, most public opinion polls taken in Russia, Ukraine, and elsewhere in the former USSR show that a majority still supports democratic elections, freedom of speech and assembly, and representative government, even after the disappointing performance of post-Soviet democracy thus far. True, such polls also show that many post-Soviet citizens would trade "democracy" in the abstract for greater "order," but the majority would prefer to have both democracy and order than to have to choose between these values. Third, at least some aspects of political culture in the former Communist system seem to be actually helpful for building post-Communist democratic institutions. In particular, countries such as Russia have very well developed institutions for mass voting that were set up in Soviet times. Of course, under Communism, voting for official Communist Party candidates was obligatory, but in the last few years of the Soviet Union's existence, reforms introduced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev introduced genuine electoral com-

petition. Thus, Russians today have nearly 15 years' experience with open democratic politics, and turnout on voting day, while declining, still usually exceeds 60 percent of the population—a far higher proportion than in the United States. Finally, although it's certainly true that post-Communist "civil society"—that is, the network of voluntary public organizations that fight for such things as environmental causes, women's rights, citizen control over the military, and so on—is generally rather weak, there are nonetheless tens of thousands of dedicated democratic activists working under very difficult conditions in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics today. Surely these people, too, are part of their countries' "political culture"!

If there is one aspect of life under Communism that has a particularly negative effect on political culture today, it's the profound cynicism about government generated by the experience of Soviet one-party rule. After so many years of listening to Communist propaganda, most Russians, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Georgians—and for that matter, most Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians—tend to be highly skeptical that politicians promising a "brilliant future" can ever be trusted. They are so skeptical, in fact that remarkably few post-Communist citizens become active in politics or participate in government institutions of any sort. That's a definite problem for democratic consolidation in the region, which will require commitment to the enforcement of democratic rules by at least some significant part of the populace. Still, the heroic overthrow of Communist autocracy by mobilized populations throughout the Soviet bloc in 1989 and 1991 suggests that the will to defend democracy in the region is widespread, and perhaps can still be tapped in times of crisis.

LEGACIES OF THE COMMUNIST PAST

If an unsupportive political culture is not the main explanation for the problems of post-Communist democracies to date, perhaps we should turn our attention simply to the institutional obstacles to full democracy inherited from the Communist past. This line of reasoning has become increasingly influential among scholars in recent years, as the extent of the political and economic damage done by 74 years of Communist rule in the USSR, and 44 years of Communist rule in Eastern Europe, becomes clear.

Soviet Communism was based upon a particularly brutal form of one-party dictatorship that systematically destroyed all alternative sources of independent political life in those countries where it was imposed. Proceeding from Vladimir Lenin's theory that a "party of professional revolutionaries" based upon strict, hierarchical obedience to the party leadership was necessary to lead the global working class to victory against the forces of capitalism, Soviet leaders prior to Gorbachev never wavered from their belief that the "leading role of the Communist Party" must be preserved at all costs. Not only were all non-Communist political parties quickly banned in the years following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, but all other social organizations, such as trade unions, women's organizations, city councils, and even factories, farms, and schools were directly subordinated to party officials. Coupled with this pervasive party dictatorship was the ever-present surveillance of the secret police, known by various names over the course of Soviet history, but known by most former Soviet citizens (even today) as the KGB. This spy network grew to include literally millions of informants; as a result, during Soviet times, one could never truly speak freely except perhaps in the most intimate family and friendship circles. Finally, under Lenin after 1917, but especially under the genocidal rule of Joseph Stalin from 1929–953, anyone who dared to express "anti-party" opinions in public was likely to be sent to the gulag—the state network of forced labor camps—or to be executed, as were tens of millions of Soviet citizens under Stalin's reign. Sadly, this entire system of political repression was imposed as well on the countries of

Eastern Europe after occupation by Soviet troops at the end of World War II. Although "Leninist" regimes did rely less on mass terror after Stalin's death in 1953, the apparatus of party and secret police dictatorship remained fully intact until nearly the end of the Soviet era.

OBSTACLES TO WOULD-BE DEMOCRATIZERS

Not surprisingly, decades of subordination to a dictatorial regime of this nature have left in its wake many serious obstacles to would-be democratizers. For one thing, it has turned out to be exceedingly hard to build alternative, pro-democratic political parties now that the official dictatorship of the Communist party has ended. In almost every post-Communist country, the ex-Communists have regrouped to become one of the strongest political forces in the country. While in the most advanced Eastern European regimes, such as Poland, the ex-Communists pledge support for Western-style democracy and capitalism, Communists in other places, notably in Russia, remain vocal admirers of Stalin and the Soviet system. Meanwhile, it's very difficult to get young Russians to join any sort of alternative "party"; the very word conjures up the discredited past regime. The secret police have also made comebacks in many post-Communist nations. In Russia, most famously, even the President began his career in the KGB, as he quite proudly likes to remind audiences. As a result, local officials of the Russian Federal Security Service, or FSB (as the former Russian KGB is now called), often feel free to harass, jail, or imprison local environmental campaigners, opposition journalists, and anti-military activists. Obviously, this weakens the vibrancy of grass-roots democracy in the country. Finally, the other crucial institutions for making democracy work—independent and reliable courts of law, uncorrupted police forces, and reliable state bureaucracies—are all very weak as a result of the effects of Soviet rule; today few post-Soviet citizens trust judges, police officers, or state officials to act in the best interests of the Russian population instead of in their own self-interest.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

MOLDOVA

After Moldova's declaration of independence I had the opportunity to become a Romanian citizen. I went to Bucharest, where I worked as a psychoanalyst. I had a private clinic, and at first my practice was fairly successful. I was able to travel around, see how people live in Western Europe, and make comparisons. Two years ago I returned to Kishenev, where I also tried to set up a private practice. But most people are too poor to afford psychoanalysis. I next opened a clothes shop for young women, which proved successful. I don't get the satisfaction from it that I did from my old job, but it would be stupid to wait until my profession is in demand.

-Lilia Markautsan, 42, shop owner

If the political legacy of one-party rule presents severe problems for building the sorts of institutions that are vital to the functioning of modern representative democracy, the economic legacy of Stalinist industrial and agricultural planning economy is, if anything, even more daunting. All over the former Soviet bloc, huge factories that were designed in the 1930s to be "heroic" examples of socialism are now outdated relics that cannot compete in the global economy. Most, by now, have either shut down or drastically curtailed their production, and thus hundreds of thousands of former blue-collar workers have lost their old state jobs. Still, industrial dinosaurs producing such products as steel, tractors, and weaponry remain economically important to several large Russian

cities, and they continue to be subsidized by cheap oil, gas, and electricity in order to keep unemployment rates at a politically sustainable level. As a result, it remains difficult for new start-up businesses that lack comparable political connections to compete. Agriculture, too, suffers from the aftereffects of collectivization under Stalin, in which the peasantry was herded onto "state farms" and "collective farms" that might as well have been concentration camps. After decades of subordination to this system, the rural population today is largely elderly, lacking in skills, and desperate for protection against market forces. Finally, the pervasive corruption of state institutions after the decline and fall of Communism has given rise to a devastating combination of "mafias" and corrupt officials who prey on just about every successful business in the former Soviet Union, as well as in much of Eastern Europe, demanding bribes and protection money while threatening violence against those who dare defy them. Not surprisingly, the small business sector in much of Eurasia today remains comparatively weak; many post-Soviet states today rely economically on the proceeds from energy and mineral exports.

For those who care about democracy, such an economic situation poses several major problems. For one thing, it's very difficult to sustain real democratic opposition when most economic resources are concentrated in a small number of oil and gas firms run by a handful of billionaires and their allies in local industries and state bureaucracies. Those politicians who try to level the playing field to allow for a more competitive form of capitalism quickly discover that they are shut out of the local media, cut off from state sources of funding, and sometimes physically threatened. Meanwhile, those political figures who do the bidding of locally powerful economic "oligarchs" are given free air time, ample campaign resources, and access to the services of professional PR firms to improve their public image. Of course, big money can play a damaging role in all democracies, but the sheer concentration of wealth in most post-Communist countries, combined with the weakness of legal institutions designed to protect opposition forces, makes the situation much worse.

Another obvious problem is that Stalinist economies simply don't do very well when they are forced to compete in the contemporary high-tech globalized marketplace. Every post-Communist country suffered through severe recession, high inflation, and growing unemployment for the first few years after the collapse of state planning, and while in places like Poland, Hungary, and Estonia growth returned after a few years, most of the former Soviet republics continued to experience severe declines in GDP every year until the end of the 1990s. While most of the post-Soviet countries have since turned the corner and begun steady economic growth, the fact remains that "democracy" in these countries is still associated with severe economic dislocation and hardship. Indeed, it's remarkable that more countries did not turn away from democracy entirely in the 1990s, given the depth of the economic crisis their populations faced.

LOOKING AHEAD

Still, neither the political nor the economic legacy of Communism precludes further democratization in the region. As the twenty-first century gets underway, many of the necessary adjustments away from Communist Party dictatorship and Stalinist economic planning have already been made. The generation of young adults now coming of political age in post-Communist Europe and Eurasia were only small children when Communism collapsed, and they do not share the nostalgia for the Soviet system typical of many people of the older generation. Even on the economic level, the continuing problems posed by the Stalinist legacy do not entirely negate the prospects of democracy. As countries like India teach us, democracy can endure for decades even in the face of poverty even worse than that typical of the post-

Communist region. Indeed, one of the few positive features of Stalinist development is that East Europeans and Eurasians today are generally well-educated and urbanized, factors that tend to increase support for democratic rule. If the scope for small businesses in the region continues to widen—as it has in some major cities, such as Moscow and St. Petersburg—one can imagine a "middle class" developing that could serve as the social base for further democratic reforms. Perhaps such factors explain why, despite the crushing burdens of Communist politics and Stalinist economics, the majority of post-Communist countries today are still at least formally democratic.

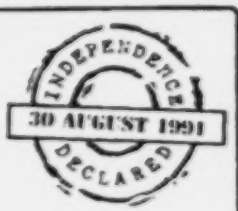
IDEAS AND DEMOCRACY

This brings us to the final factor that seems important in explaining the course of post-Communist democratization thus far: the role of ideas. Given the seeming absence of a historical "political culture" of democracy in much of the region, and given the twin institutional legacies of Leninist dictatorship and Stalinist misdevelopment, one might actually expect all of the region to be ruled autocratically. Instead, throughout the region, and even under the most depressing dictatorships of Central Asia, we continue to witness democratic activists struggling for human rights, freedom of speech and assembly, and open political participation. Perhaps the single most important reason for this result is a factor that many political scientists tend to ignore or underestimate: simply put, democracy is still an inspiring ideal to large numbers of people in the post-Communist milieu.

In the first years after the collapse of the Soviet bloc, a key ideological slogan of democratic activists through the region was the desire for a "return to Europe." In Eastern Europe, in particular, the argument was made that the destiny of these countries was to "rejoin" the Western democracies of the European Union, and to "restore" their longstanding civic institutions. In fact, few of the Eastern European countries actually had much history of democracy prior to Soviet rule, but the myth of a unified and democratic Europe proved to be inspiring enough to motivate countless people to build new political parties, to defend the rule of law, and to fight for the rights of citizens in order to overcome the divisions created by the Cold War. Even in places like Ukraine and Russia, seemingly too distant from Western Europe to be affected by such rhetoric, the ideal of "returning to Europe"—and thus to European-style democratic capitalism—has been an important goal of almost every post-Communist political administration.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

AZERBAIJAN



There's a bigger choice of food now, but who can afford to buy it? I used to earn 140 roubles a month. My husband was an academic, and he earned almost 500 roubles. With this money we were able to travel every year throughout the Soviet Union. The bus and the metro cost 5 kopecks. Salaries today aren't even enough for transport. If you don't have a supplementary income from somewhere, you can't survive. I know academics who work as painters and decorators and so on. I'm now very ill, but we have to pay for medicine. In Soviet times, it was free. These days people can find themselves at death's door, but they still don't go to the doctor because they simply have no money.

-Gulnara Gasanova, 61, pensioner

From this point of view, it's perhaps not so surprising that democracy has fared best where the claim of a "return to Europe" has been most plausible—that is, in the countries immediately bordering Western Europe. Democracy has been sustained as well—although with the various

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institutional problems discussed above—in the next "tier" of post-Communist nations further east, including Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, and Russia. Where it has been utterly impossible to imagine a "return to Europe"—as in the case of the five Central Asian states—dictatorship has been thus far the universal outcome.

However, a focus on the role of ideas in history allows us to conclude this brief survey of post-Communist democratization on a positive note. If the emphasis here on ideals and ideologies is correct, then democracy remains a real institutional possibility even in the most seemingly inauspicious geographic, institutional, and cultural environments. Remembering just how recent our own inclusive democracies really are, we may begin to have more patience as we watch—and try to support—the unfolding democratic struggles in much of Eastern Europe and Eurasia today. The outcome of these struggles is still very uncertain, and the possibility remains that we will see a whole series of new dictatorships established in the post-Communist world as the twenty-first century unfolds. If so, the world is in for some dark and turbulent times. Yet if ideas play a key role in history, then the early dream of a unified democratic North—and perhaps, eventually, a democratic globe—may also turn out in the end to be a practical reality.

FURTHER READING SUGGESTIONS:

Anderson, Richard, M. Steven Fish, Stephen E. Hanson, and Philip Roeder. Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001.

McFaul, Michael. Russia's Unfinished Revolution: Political Change from Gorbachev to Putin. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Howard, Marc Morje. The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Rose, Richard, William Mishler, and Christian Haerpfer. Democracy and Its Alternatives: Understanding Post-Communist Societies. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Stephen E. Hanson (Ph.D.; University of California, Berkeley) is Boeing International Professor at the University of Washington, Associate Professor of Political Science, and the Director of the Russian, East European, and Central Asian Studies (REECAS) Program of the Jackson School of International Studies. He is the author of Time and Revolution: Marxism and the Design of Soviet Institutions (University of North Carolina Press, 1997), winner of the 1998 Wayne S. Vucinich book award from the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, and a co-author of Postcommunism and the Theory of Democracy (Princeton University Press, 2001).

SECTION ONE LESSONS

PROMISES AND CHALLENGES

Eastern Europe in the 1990s	Secondary
Democracy at the Turn of the Century	Secondary
Challenge of Democracy	Secondary
Out With the Old; In With the New	Secondary
In the Bowl: Examining Corruption in Russia	Secondary
Thieves in the Cupboard	Middle school
Democratic Culture	Secondary
Pathways to Independence/Democracy	Middle school
Independence and Democratization	Secondary

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Eastern Europe in the 1990s:
The Wall Comes Tumbling Down

Introduction

The revolutionary events of 1990 in Eastern Europe have ushered in a new historical phase for the region, and for the world. The post-communist era in Eastern Europe has begun and the myriad challenges of moving from political and economic systems imposed on Eastern Europe by Josef Vissarionovich Stalin to western style parliamentary democracies and free-market economic systems seem overwhelming. While each East European nation has historical, political, economic, and social factors that are unique, each also shares three major, common sets of problems or challenges. The purpose of this lesson is to introduce students to these three common challenges, as well as to specific issues within them.

Approximate Length

2-3 class periods

Grade Level:

Secondary

National Standards

National Standards in History—The student understands major global trends since World War II by explaining the changing configuration of political boundaries in the world since World War II and analyzing connections between nationalistic ideology and the proliferation of sovereign states.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- locate the countries of Eastern Europe on a map.
- describe three common challenges that all Eastern European countries experience.
- describe the main characteristics of the "Communist Period."
- define the terms "Post-Communist," "Newly Independent States" (NIS), "Emerging Democracies."
- define the challenges of reform.

Essential Resources

- Student HANDOUT A "Life after the Wall"
- Poster paper and markers
- Map of Europe, including Eastern Europe

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Have students imagine what it would be like to have many aspects of their daily lives changed suddenly, as if they lived in Eastern Europe. This can be done several ways. One method is to ask students to sit back and open their minds. Ask them to imagine living in another country where many new and important laws are being introduced, and many aspects of society are to be changed. Another method is to act as if you read about these changes in the morning paper. This will take some theatrics; try to keep a straight face and be very serious when you inform the students about the changes. Remember, you are caught in the middle with your students, so some emotions like disbelief, anger, etc., would be natural. Get your students to believe what you are saying. Try to get them upset and asking lots of questions.

2 Explain to students that seven major reforms or changes are to be introduced within a couple of months. The government is trying to erase poverty and equalize the standard of living for its citizens. In addition, the government wants to improve the culture for its citizens; so many parts of the mass media will come under government control. Finally the government will improve the education for all people. The seven reforms are:

■ The government will be collecting all history, geography, government, psychology, and economics textbooks because they are filled with errors. Explain to them that what they have been learning was factually incorrect, and that certain government officials in the past have purposefully printed these books with errors because they wanted to control our knowledge and instill "politically correct" values and viewpoints. Tell them that new, factually correct books are finally being printed and they will arrive in a couple of months. Explain to them that you, as a professional educator, are very sorry that their education will be put on hold, and that many subjects must be relearned. This will be more work for students and teachers. Tell them to expect at least another semester of high school.

■ The armed forces have started a draft, and every young, able person must serve in the military after graduating high school for a minimum of two years. This is to ensure that our country will maintain a strong defense against hostile nations.

■ The government will equalize wages for all working people. A doctor will get paid the same as a factory worker. This will make for a more just and equal society.

■ The government will "streamline" the election process by only putting one political party on the ballot. The new party will be called the "People's Party." Different candidates can compete for office, but they must be endorsed by the government and members of the "People's Party." This will ensure that no revolutionary or extremist political party will gain power.

■ The government will take control of the mass media—TV, newspapers, and radio. The government, after many research studies, has proven that young people are exposed to too much violence and sex on TV, and that watching this "trash" promotes violence and promiscuity among young people. Furthermore, the government believes that radio stations around the country play too much music and not enough news. In addition, the print media will be censored by the government, and only stories favorable to our political and economic system will be printed.

■ The government will take over the housing industry and all apartments and new homes will now be built and controlled by the government. This is necessary to ensure that all people in society have equal access to housing. This will mean that each young person will have to wait four years for an apartment if single, and two years if married.

■ Finally, the government realizes that these

changes will be difficult at first, but we will all benefit in the long run. To ensure that these changes take place with minimal disruption, government will put in prison anyone who tries to work against the government. Opponents of the government and any type of criminal activity will not be tolerated. This sounds harsh, but the result will be that our society will be more equal, and we will have less crime on the streets.

3 Discuss what type of emotions students were feeling. Was anyone angry, scared, sad, happy, in disbelief, etc.? What was the worst of the proposed changes? Does the notion of government—imposed equality appeal to them? Now that you have radically changed their lives, explain to students that for the peoples of Eastern Europe, these major changes are no joke, and that they actually happened in the years immediately following World War II. Many of the emotions that your students were feeling are a serious matter for the peoples of Eastern Europe. Show them on a map the region of Eastern Europe.

4 Distribute Student HANDOUT A "Life after the Wall," and allow time to be read individually.

5 After students have read the handout, arrange them in small groups, assigning each group the following questions:

- Is it better to introduce reforms quickly, or gradually
- Do some reforms have to take place before another begins?
- Are some reforms more important than others? What are the most important? What are the least important?
- What can other nations do to help?
- What specific types of assistance do these nations need?

6 Have each group record their ideas on posting paper. Explain that each group will present their answers/ideas to the entire class. One or two students will need to be the group's spokesperson.

7 After each group has shared their ideas, make one master list that incorporates ideas from each group.

8 Close the lesson by reviewing the following:

- When was the "Communist" Period in Eastern Europe?
- When did the "Post-Communist" Period begin?
- What events started the move away from communism?

ASSESSMENT

Students are to respond in writing to the following questions.

- What are the three general challenges that all East European nations face as they reform their societies?
- What are the most serious challenges to these reforms?

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Life after the Wall

In 1989, the people of Eastern Europe[1] started a series of revolutions that ushered in many dramatic changes. Perhaps the most notable was when, on November 10, 1989, the Berlin Wall was peacefully torn down by thousands of jubilant East and West German citizens. For twenty-eight years, the Berlin Wall bottled up far more than the frustration of 17 million East Germans, it symbolized the division of Europe and this century's longest war-the Cold War. In 1989, forty years of history in Eastern Europe—the Communist period—was challenged and rejected and the Cold War was declared over. Life after the Berlin Wall will be radically different for the people of East Europe. It promises to be a difficult transition from the certainties of the Communist period to the uncertainties of open elections and free markets.

To understand the revolutionary events of 1989, we should take a look back to the Communist era in Eastern Europe. The Communist Period in Eastern Europe began immediately after World War II (1939-1945), when Soviet leader Josef Vissarionovich Stalin (Stalin means "steel" in Russian) imposed Soviet-style Communist political and economic systems on the countries of Eastern Europe. The characteristics of Soviet-style political and economic systems include: government or state ownership of all property and industry (which means the government tightly controls the prices and availability of goods and services in the economy), government control of the mass media, single-party, pro-Moscow political parties, strict government control of travel and movement of its citizens, repression of religion, and military forces that are closely linked with Soviet forces.

By 1948, Soviet leader Stalin had accomplished his desire to shape the political and economic systems of the East European countries in the Soviet image. Many leaders in the West were alarmed at what Stalin and his followers were doing (in violation of the February 1945 Yalta Treaty). Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain during World War II, summed up the perceptions of Western leaders in his famous March 1946 "Iron Curtain" speech. In this speech, Winston Churchill sadly described the division of Europe: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. These famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject . . . to an increasing measure of control from Moscow."

During the Communist period (roughly 1947 to 1990) in Eastern Europe, Soviet-East European nations wavered from friendly to uneasy to hostile. After Stalin's death in 1953, many attempts were made by Eastern Europe to loosen Stalin's strict control and Moscow's demand of total obedience. In 1956 in Budapest, Hungary, 1968 in Prague, Czechoslovakia, 1970, 1976, and 1980 in Poland, and in 1980 East Europeans, protested against their governments by marching in the streets, clashing with Soviet-backed troops, and generally demanded more freedom and independence.

By 1990 the nations of Eastern Europe got their wish. The Soviet Union, under the leadership of Mikhail Sergeeyvich Gorbachev, changed Soviet policy toward Eastern Europe from the heavy handed Brezhnev doctrine to the "Sinatra Doctrine." In 1989 Soviet Foreign Minister spokesperson, Gennady Gerasimov, proclaimed Soviet policy towards Eastern Europe as the "Sinatra Doctrine" when he stated that, just like

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Frank Sinatra's song, "I'll Do It My Way," that Eastern Europe could "go their own way."

The 37 million people of Eastern Europe did not take long to remove their antidemocratic and authoritarian rulers. By the end of 1989 the post-Communist era began, as the rulers of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, and Romania were removed from power. The reform process took longer in Bulgaria; however, many of the high ranking former Communist officials have been removed from power.

The nations of Eastern Europe were faced with a monumental and painful task; how to transform their societies after forty-two years of living in a place where the government has had an enormous amount of control over all components of a society, i.e., the economy, politics, communications, social services, education, etc. Each of the East European nations (and other nations like Cuba, Mongolia, Albania, and Yugoslavia) experience at least three general challenges as they seek to change their societies in the post-Communist era.

Three General Challenges

1. Dismantling the shell of communism. This means dismantling the numerous institutions, regulations, and organizations which maintained the communist economic and political system. Examples of the "shell of communism" are the secret police; government bureaucracies that administered and planned communist policies; election rules; control of mass media; state-funded social services; government subsidies to maintain inefficient industries; and government regulation of business dealings.

2. Developing new political and economic systems. New ways and standards to conduct the political and economic life of a country must be developed if it seeks to replace unpopular political and economic systems. This means living by new rules and adopting new attitudes about how the political process and economy of a nation operates. This also means hardships, uncertainty and risk taking.

3. Dealing with internal challenges that threaten reform. All societies face internal challenges that threaten the standard of living for its citizens. Crime, violence, ethnic unrest and conflict, civil rights, unemployment, inflation, pollution, and health care are all examples of issues with which modern societies must deal. These issues can be even more difficult when a society is in the reform stage and caught between the old ways of communism and the new ways of the post-communist era.

In addition, each nation will, to varying degrees, experience specific challenges as they evolve their societies in the post-communist era. Every nation of the world has unique characteristics that separate it from the other nations of the global community. In addition, every nation has events in history that are unique. As East European nations struggle to make the required reforms, they will be confronted with specific challenges that are unique, and that require unique solutions. Below are some issue areas that all East European nations (and others) must address as they reform their society. The extent of the challenge or the degree of reform varies greatly from country to country.

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STUDENT HANDOUT A

Ten Specific Challenges

1. **Nationalism.** Nationalism is a strong feeling of devotion or pride in one's country.

Taken to the extreme, nationalism can lead to war.

2. **Economy.** Economic issues are dear to most people. Issues like unemployment, inflation, interest rates, taxes, and wages are of prime importance to most of us. Economic hardship is practically inescapable for Eastern Europe. It is an enormous task to take an economy that is heavily controlled by the government to an economy where private citizens make most of the decisions. During the transition process, increased unemployment, inflation, confusion, and an overall decrease in the standard of living will severely test the new, post communist governments' ability to develop a well-functioning economy.

3. **Political systems**. The people of Eastern Europe are attempting to forge democratic traditions where none previously existed. Government that has its supreme power vested in the people and is exercised through them or their elected representatives, or democracy, is something new to Eastern Europe (with the rare exception of Czechoslovakia, which has a brief history of democracy before World War II). For those not familiar with democracy, it can be confusing, frightening, and frustrating. For people used to non-democratic, authoritarian rule democracy can seem chaotic and near anarchy (or absence of government and laws).

4. **Mass media.** In the post-communist era, the control of the mass media-radio, print media, and television—has gone from near total government control to partial government control. Each nation is seeking to find a proper, responsible arrangement that allows all of its citizens access to mass media that has less government censorship.

5. **Education.** Like other aspects of society, the education systems of East European nations will realize reforms. History textbooks will be revised, economic classes will include more content on capitalist-style economies, and controversial issues like sex education, AIDS, and teen pregnancy will either be taught or deleted from the curriculum, depending on the individual country.

6. **Law and order**. Each East European nation will have more control over its law-making process and judicial systems than during the communist period. The challenge for each nation will be to build judicial and law enforcement systems that maintain law and order without being overly harsh on its citizens.

7. **Environment**. All the nations of Eastern Europe face serious environmental problems. During the communist era, little attention was given to environmental issues. In addition, there were few environmental safeguards as the government lacked the resolve necessary to regulate its own industries. The result was massive, costly environmental damage. The nations of Eastern Europe must find the money and technology necessary to clean-up and reduce the amount of pollution produced by its industries.

8. **Military**. Each East European nation is finally in control of its own military. During the communist era, each nation was a member of the Soviet-led Warsaw Treaty Organization. This gave

STUDENT HANDOUT A

the Soviet Union large amounts of control over the military in each East European nation. The Warsaw Treaty Organization has been disbanded and each nation now directs its own military. Each nation is now free to make its own military policy, a fact of life that worries other European nations, as the stability that existed during the days of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are gone.

9. **Diplomatic relations**. The nations of Eastern Europe are forging new relations with the vast number of countries of the world. They are free to make treaties, agreements, and trading relationships with whomever they like. This is a marked change from the communist era, and it opens up new possibilities, as well as potential difficulties.

10. **Nuclear weapons**. The nations of Eastern Europe are now able to arm themselves with nuclear weapons. This is not to say they will or should, but the possibility exists despite international pressure not to acquire nuclear weapons.

All of these ten challenges raise serious and important questions for the people of Eastern Europe and their elected representatives. It is hard to imagine these nations not needing help from the rest of the international community in the form of money, technology, diplomatic support or business expertise. The move away from the communist era is dotted with obstacles; however, now the people of Eastern Europe are in control of their own destiny.

1 For the purposes of this lesson, Eastern Europe is defined as: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, and former East Germany.

2 Revolution is defined as "Rapid, basic transformations of a society's state and class structures. They are accompanied and in part carried through by class-based revolts from below." From Theda, Sokcpol, State and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 4.

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Democracy at the Turn of the Century

Introduction

With the demise of communism in the Soviet bloc, many Americans-including American leaders—assumed that all formerly communist countries would become democratic. The same is thought to be true of Asian and African nations emerging from repressive regions. This assumption may be faulty, however, as nations contemplating establishing democratic systems experience a range of problems. This activity introduces some of these concerns and invites students to reflect on their own educational experiences as panelists at an "Inter- national Conference on Education for Democratic Citizenship."

Approximate Length

3 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

National Standards

National Standards in History—The student understands major global trends since World War II by explaining the changing configuration of political boundaries in the world since World War II and analyzing connections between nationalistic ideology and the proliferation of sovereign states.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- describe the requirements of democratic citizenship.
- recognize some of the problems that face nations trying to establish democratic governments.
- suggest educational strategies for preparing citizens in new democracies.

Essential Resources

- Student HANDOUT A "Can Democracy Work for Everyone?"

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Write the phrase democratic citizen on the chalkboard. Ask students to write the phrase in the center of a piece of paper and create a word web showing the qualities, skills, attitudes, rights, responsibilities, and so on that they associate with being a citizen in a democracy.

2 When students have completed their webs, conduct a class discussion. Try to reach agreement on a list of skills, attitudes, or qualities that would make a person a good citizen in a democracy. Challenge students to go beyond such skills as voting to ideas like ability to learn about and understand important issues and willingness to put the common good above self-interest.

3 Tell students that in the past several years, a number of non-democratic governments have ended and many countries are trying to set up new governments. This includes the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as such African nation as South Africa. What kinds of governments do students think will emerge in these countries?

4 Explain that while many outsiders believed that democracies would emerge as soon as communism fell, countries face many challenges in establishing workable democracies. Distribute handout and allow time for students to read it. Conduct a class discussion of the information provided in the handout, focusing on some of the challenges that face leaders trying to establish democratic governments.

5 Explain that many U.S. consultants, or experts, are traveling to countries around the world sharing ideas about setting up new governments or changing educational systems to meet the needs of democratic citizenship. Tell students that they, as experts in the U.S. educational system, are going to present at the "International Conference on Education for Democratic Citizenship." Based on their own school experiences in an established democracy, they will give their recommendations on how best to prepare young people to be good citizens.

6 Organize the class into five groups. Each group is to plan a three-minute presentation of their best ideas on education for citizenship in a democracy. In preparing their presentations, students may find it useful to think about the following questions:

- What in my school experience has helped me develop skills, attitudes, or qualities that I will need as a citizen?
- What has been ineffective in helping me develop skills, attitudes, or qualities that I will need as a citizen?
- What experiences outside of school have helped me prepare for the role of citizen? How might they be incorporated into a school program?

7 Have students make their presentations to the class.

8 To conclude the lesson, ask each student to write a paragraph identifying the idea he/she thought was the best one presented and explaining why he/she chose that idea as best.

SUMMARY ACTIVITY

Have students regularly scan the newspaper for articles about elections in newly emerging democracies. What problems do these countries experience? How might those problems be addressed in future elections? You might reserve a section of a bulletin board for students to post relevant articles and their commentary on the articles.

ASSESSMENT

Students may be assessed on both their participation in the small group and class discussions and on their writing assignment. Use the following criteria:

- Attentiveness to the information in the activity sheet.
- Thoughtful contributions.
- Active listening.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Can Democracy Work for Everyone?

Only 20 of the world's 170 countries are considered "mature" democracies. About 40 more are newer democracies. Overall, less than half the world's people live in democracies.

Leaders of countries that are trying to establish democratic governments warn that their efforts may fail. Why is this true? Why is democracy apparently so hard to establish and maintain? The reasons are many.

People who have suffered under totalitarian regimes often have little faith in government. Their experiences have taught them to believe nothing the government tells them. Thus, they may find it hard to believe leaders who tell them they will now have a voice in the government. If they do not believe that democracy will be real, they may not bother to take part.

Some people have false ideas about what life in a democracy will be like. When the new government does not measure up to their expectations immediately, they lose faith in democracy. For example, a popular cartoon in the Czech Republic represents democracy as a per- son on a sofa surrounded by a VCR, TV, computer, microwave, and other consumer items. People who expect democracy to bring material riches may be disappointed when bad economic conditions persist after the government changes.

Another example of high expectations can be found in South Africa. In South Africa under apartheid, black South Africans did not have the standard of living that whites enjoyed. With the new participation of black South Africans in government, many black South Africans naturally hope that this gap will be closed quickly. If this does not happen, what might be the result for South African democracy?

The example of South Africa also suggests another reason why democracy can be hard to establish. Many countries include groups that do not like each other. These groups do not have a history of working together to solve problems. Indeed, in some areas of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, civil wars have broken out since communism ended. It is hard to establish a democracy in which groups that are fighting can work together for the common good.

In addition, the traditions of some countries may not support democratic practices. For example, people in a country like Cambodia, which does not have a tradition of changing leaders peacefully, may think it is unlikely that defeated office holders would leave office willingly after losing an election. Similarly, some countries may not have a tradition of the rule of law; law in their countries may have been based on traditions, religious beliefs, or the commands of one ruler.

Lesson developed by: Laurel Singleton, Global Issues in the Middle School, 1990.

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The Challenge of Democracy

Introduction

During the past decade, the Newly Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union have struggled to implement democratic reforms. In fact, a recent survey developed by Freedom House, in consultation with the U.S. Agency for International Development and published as Nations in Transition, shows that the twelve NIS they track have made little or no progress towards democratization since 1998. This trend has created a sense of pessimism and led some to believe that true democratic reform is a distant, if not impossible, goal for many of these nations. In this lesson students examine several political, economic, and social beliefs and practices of government and citizens in a hypothetical NIS, and develop a list of issues and problems that must be resolved before democracy can be achieved.

Approximate Length

3 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

National Standards

National Standards for Civics and Government—How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society? What is the impact of the concept of democracy and individual rights on the world? Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the impact of American political ideas on the world

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- identify some of the political, social, economic, and psychological conditions preventing some Newly Independent States from achieving a successful democratic form of government.
- develop a set of economic, social, psychological and political conditions considered essential for democratization in the Newly Independent States.
- understand the complexity of replacing one set of systems, beliefs and practices for another.

Essential Resources

- Student HANDOUT A "The Challenge of Democracy in Azerbaza."

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

Background. Although most of the NIS countries are trying to implement democratic reforms, many are experiencing varying degrees of success. Lack of success is many times due to the fact that democratic reforms are not compatible with existing economic, social, political, or psychological beliefs, practices or circumstances. In many cases successful democratic reform depends on reforming parts of other systems within a country. Tell students that as a political system, democracy must relate to and interact compatibly with other systems in a country. This case study is based in large part on the struggle for democracy in Belarus. Belarus is a consolidated autocracy and generally considered far away from developing a democratic form of government. You may wish to become more familiar with Belarus before beginning the lesson.

1 Begin the lesson by telling students that in many of the NIS during the past decade, democracy has not been realized to the degree hoped. Ask students to hypothesize why many of the countries have struggled to realize democratic reforms. List student responses on the chalkboard.

2 Explain that in this lesson students will be asked to identify some of the reasons why a hypothetical Newly Independent State has failed to realize democratic reforms. Tell them that they will analyze economic, social, political and psychological conditions that have inhibited democratic reform efforts.

3 Explain that in order for democracy to generally take root and develop in the NIS, certain economic, social, political and psychological factors must be in place. Stress that democratic reform cannot develop in isolation from other systems.

4 Divide students into small groups of four to five students each. Provide each student with a copy of the student lesson sheet "The Challenge of Democracy in Azerbaza." Tell students that Azerbaza is a hypothetical Newly Independent State. Also tell them that although hypothetical, the information is common to many Newly Independent States.

5 Instruct students to read the "Challenge of Democracy in Azerbaza," and then to identify the problems preventing democratic reform from occurring in Azerbaza.

6 Write the terms Political, Social, Economic, and Psychological on the chalkboard. In a large group discussion, ask students to categorize the problems identified in small groups into one of these categories. List the responses on the chalkboard.

7 Ask student to discuss how difficult they think it would be to reform the government in Azerbaza to a democracy. Discuss the relationship between a democratic system of government and the systems listed on the chalkboard.

8 Ask students to write a newspaper editorial entitled The Challenge of Democracy in Azerbaza. Instruct students to identify the problems, and to propose solutions that would make it easier for democracy to take hold in Azerbaza.

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ASSESSMENT

Students may be assessed on both their participation in the small group and class discussions and on their writing assignment. Use the following criteria:

- Attentiveness to the information in the activity sheet.
- Thoughtful contributions.
- Active listening.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

The Challenge of Democracy in Azerbaza

Azerbaza (hypothetical) is a small, land-locked country located on the Western part of the former Soviet Union. Its population consists of 10.3 million Azerbazas with Russians forming the largest ethnic group (15 percent). Russian is the common language.

In the decade since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Azerbaza became a presidential dictatorship and a consolidated autocracy. The president came to power in 1992 following an election that was deemed fair by international observers. However, since then the president has seized full power by reintroducing censorship and limiting the rights of candidates for elected office. His government has also limited civil liberties including freedom of association, assembly, religion, movement, speech and the press.

A weak opposition, an apathetic citizenry, a popular president and a history of weak dissident movements have all led to a stable but non-democratic political system.

In 1993 the president announced hostility to private enterprise and prohibits foreign investment. The government is committed to a planned economy and blocks all attempts at privatization.

Although the Azerbazan government consistently violates the human rights of its citizens, its people find greater comfort and security in the traditions of the past than in the new and unfamiliar procedures of democracy. Recently a majority voted to integrate Azerbaza with Russia and to restore old Soviet symbols. The president has increasingly introduced Soviet-style practices including creating political parties, civic organizations, trade unions and youth groups that are loyal to the authorities and help keep up the appearance of openness. The educational system continues to support the government's political policies.

During the past year, evidence has surfaced about the existence of an official death squad that might have been responsible for the disappearance of leading opposition figures. Information about the death squad has greatly reduced the number of opponents to the government. The number of people belonging to political parties is small. Membership figures suggest that less than one percent of the population belongs to a party. The representation of women in politics has declined in the past 10 years with only one of the 27 ministers being a woman.

In 1996 a law was passed which prohibited the defamation of the president, senior government officials and other individuals of the ruling elite. The country has only 10 independent newspapers. Official state newspapers receive state money for paper, printing, and distribution. Publishing costs are much higher for independent newspapers. Since 198, print, audio, and video materials have been restricted for import into Azarbaza. The state postal system is not allowed to deliver opposition material that has been banned by the government.

The Constitution has many internal contradictions that deliberately create a sense of vagueness in the rule of law and thereby allow the courts

STUDENT HANDOUT A

and security forces to use selected articles against the opposition.

The Azerbaza economy remains largely in state hands. The country's strong links with Russia since 1996 and preferential prices on Russian energy have encouraged the president to look past economic reforms.

Economic and social hardship has not been greatly felt in Azerbaza. A high level of economic development and a higher than average standard of living than in other Soviet Republics meant that many citizens in Azerbaza were complacent and un-motivated towards political and economic change. Because most of the population neither desired nor actively sought independence, when it was thrust upon them in 1991, most were not prepared. This has resulted in most citizens adopting an attitude of non-participation and "let the government do it for me."

Out with the Old, in with the New

Introduction

In 2001, the young states of the old Soviet Union prepared to mark their first decade of independence. In the ten years since gaining freedom, most had made some progress towards achieving democratization. However, in many, if not most, democracy had only put down shallow roots and after ten years was still a concept to be realized.

The process of achieving independence and democratization in the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union differs sharply from the initial experience with independence and democratization begun in the United States over 200 years ago. Forged out of conflict, compromise, and trial and error, the democratic experiment in the US was created over a period of more than 150 years. In the NIS countries, independence was achieved almost over night and democratic reforms initiated almost immediately.

In this lesson students examine how difficult it has been for many of the NIS to institute democratic reforms after decades of authoritarianism.

Approximate Length

2 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

National Standards

National Civics Standards—Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the effects of significant international political developments on the United States and other nations.

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Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- describe the differences between authoritarian and democratic forms of government.
- analyze some of the reasons many of the Newly Independent States have struggled with democratic reform efforts.

Essential Resources

- Map of East and Central Europe, Central Asia and the Newly Independent States (NIS)
- Student HANDOUT A "Democratic and Authoritarian Government."

TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Ask students to identify some of the common ideas of a democratic form of government. List these ideas on the chalkboard.

2 On a world map, identify the countries that were controlled by or part of the Soviet Union prior to the break up of the Soviet Union in 1991.

3 Give each student a copy of Student HANDOUT A "Democratic and Authoritarian Government." In a large group, discuss each of the items on the chart and fill in the chart. Use the information listed on the chalkboard to start the discussion.

4 After students have completed the chart ask them to discuss the following:

■ Which is more difficult, building a house from the start or tearing down a house and building a new one in its place?

■ Why might it be difficult for a flower growing in a garden in your backyard to grow after being transplanted into a box of sand?

5 Ask students how forming a democratic form of government in the NIS might be like tearing down and building a new house. Instruct students to provide examples if possible.

(Students might review the following terms/concepts: freedom to vote; freedom of speech; multiple political party systems; separation of powers of government; rule of law; citizen participation. Countries that have been most successful implementing democracy include: Poland, Slovenia, Lithuania, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Bulgaria and Croatia. Among the countries that have been less successful in achieving democracy are Romania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Bosnia, Ukraine, Russia, Kyrgyz Republic, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, and Kazakhstan. Autocratic countries include Uzbekistan, Belarus and Turkmenistan)

SUMMARY ACTIVITY

Conclude the lesson by pairing students and assigning each pair to create a short story in which they assume the character of a teenage girl or boy in former member of the USSR. Instruct them to write a letter to a friend in the United States telling the problems their country is having achieving a democratic form of government.

ASSESSMENT

Students may be assessed on both their participation in the class discussions and on their writing assignment. Use the following criteria:

- Discussion participation should include attentiveness, thoughtful contributions, and active listening.
- The written assignment should reflect accurately factual information, contain well-reasoned arguments, and use appropriate language and writing style.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Democratic and Authoritarian Government

Directions: As a group, complete the following chart comparing a democratic form of government to an authoritarian form of government.

	Democratic Government	Authoritarian Government
Ultimate authority:		
Political parties:		
Citizen participation:		
Rule of law:		
Individual freedoms:		
Means of changing government:		
Role of public opinion:		
Political equality:		

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In the Bowl: Examining Corruption in Russia

Introduction

In the publication Nations in Transit, 2002, The Republic of Russia was noted as possessing one of the highest degrees of corruption among the 27 NIS, Eastern, and Central European nations examined. Although corruption and extortion is a problem in almost all these nations, it is particularly problematic in Russia where both pervade everyday life and threaten the political and economic security of the country. In this lesson, students consider the causes and consequences of corruption and extortion practices in Russia and ways to control the problem.

Approximate Length

3 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

National Standards

National Civics Standards—Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the effects of significant international political developments on the United States and other nations.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- identify some of the reasons for corruption and extortion practices in Russia.
- describe some of the consequences of corruption and practices in Russia.
- defend a position on the need to maintain or to reduce the amount of corruption in Russia.

Essential Resources

- Student HANDOUT A "Corruption in Russia: Lesson Role Plays."

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

In this lesson students discuss and debate the practices of corruption and extortion in Russia. From the beginning it is important to help students understand that corruption and extortion have been a part of the political and economic landscape in the ex Soviet Union and Russia for decades. Additionally students must be reminded that while these practices may run counter to many people's ethical and moral beliefs, corruption and extortion do provide economic benefits to many, and serve as a means for resolving many bureaucratic issues and problems. Finally, it should be kept in mind that corruption in government and business is not just a problem in NIS and East and Central Europe: it is a problem in every country, including the United States.

1 Introduce the lesson by asking students to discuss the meaning of the following quote hitch refers to the fact that corruption at the state level is not new and in fact has been (and is) common among governments.

"Corruption's not of modern date: It hath been tried in ev'ry state."

- John Gray: Fables II, 1783.

2 After the discussion, tell students that in this lesson they will be provided an opportunity to examine government corruption in Russia. Tell them that among 27 countries in Eastern and Central Europe and the NIS, Russia is ranked in the top five of corruption in government. Tell them that when people write and/or talk about corruption in Russia they use terms like Thieves in Power, Kleptocrats, and Thieves in the Cupboard, to describe government officials.

3 Explain to students that in this lesson they will be representing different groups of people who are gathered to discuss their views about corruption in Russian government. Tell them that the purpose of the lesson is to help them understand some of the reasons for the corruption. Explain that there are always many sides to an issue and you will ask them to defend a position for maintaining or curbing government corruption in Russia.

4 In a survey conducted by Freedom House and published in Nations in Transit, 2002, Russia was assigned a corruption score of 6.5 on a scale of 1 (low) to eight (high). Of the 27 countries measured, only four countries scored at the same or higher level. The countries scoring at the same level or higher are Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, and Moldova. Although Russia has made progress in implementing democratic and free market reforms, corruption within government threatens to slow or reverse much of what has been accomplished.

■ Ask students if they can provide examples of corruption in government. List the examples on the chalkboard and ask them to describe the circumstances behind the examples provided.

■ Remind students that government corruption is particularly common in Russia and that while some work to get rid of it, others work to maintain it. Ask who might work against it and who might work to maintain it.

■ Divide students into nine groups. Provide each student with a copy of the Student Handout "Corruption in Russia: Problem or Essential Way of Life?" Assign one of the roles to each group of students. Instruct students to study their roles and to prepare to argue the corruption position developed in their roles.

Living with and working within a system of government corruption was common for people in the former Soviet Union. In the NIS today, although democracy and free markets have been instituted, government corruption remains, especially in Russia. While some believe that corruption may destroy reform efforts, others say that it is a necessary fact and way of life.

Students may provide examples from their own experience or provide historical examples.

5 Recent surveys show that 75 percent of all Russian officials take bribes but that only 0.4 percent are punished in any way. Bribes are thought to consume $49 million a month in Russia. Organized crime and corruption in Russia cost the country approximately $15 billion a year while 20 percent of the population live in absolute poverty—defined as less than $2.15 per day. A poll conducted a few years ago in Russia showed that 72 percent of the respondents said they would abide by the law only if officials did so.

6 Tell students that they are to assume the assigned roles of Russian citizens gathered to discuss and suggest ways to resolve government corruption. Tell them that the discussion will be conducted in a "fishbowl setting." Set up the "fishbowl" and instruct students to discuss what measures, if any, citizens in Russia should take to help stem tide of corruption and extortion in Russia.

7 Conduct the fishbowl discussion. The "fishbowl" discussion methodology requires that you organize the room so that nine chairs form an inner circle and the rest of the chairs form an outer circle. Select one person for each of the nine roles to sit in the inner circle. All remaining students sit outside of the circle and behind their respective role players. When a student sitting outside the inner circle wishes to speak, he/she must get up and stand behind the person representing his or her role in the inner circle. The person sitting in the inner circle is then obliged to give up his or he seat and move to the outer circle. The final discussion may be done in the "fishbowl" format or in a large group.

Note: Even though the position was written into the "fishbowl" roles, it may be difficult for students to defend a position to maintain government corruption. It is not necessary to force this position.

8 Conclude the lesson by writing "Causes of Government Corruption in Russia," and "Consequences of Government Corruption in Russia." Ask students to identify in some of the reasons for government corruption in Russia and to identify some of the consequences of government corruption in Russia. Write the reasons under the appropriate heading.

9 Finally, assign students to defend a position in writing for or against working to rid Russia of government corruption from a Russian point of view. For example, students might write from the point of view of a Russian police office or from the point of view of a "black marketer."

ASSESSMENT

Options for evaluating student work in this lesson include:

- Evaluating student's participation in the "fishbowl" discussions.
- Criteria should include overall effort, creativity, use of language, and degree of persuasiveness.
- The position defenses should be evaluated on their clarity in describing the position as well as on persuasiveness in stating and supporting reasons for the position

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Corruption in Russia: Lesson Role Plays

Role 1

You are members of a local Russian city police force. Since independence, your job has become even more dangerous than it was under Soviet rule. Yet your monthly salary has not been raised in over five years. While a few of your fellow officers have been lucky enough to get hired by private firms as security guards, most have not. In order to provide for the welfare of your family, you routinely stop motorists who have done nothing and threaten to give them tickets for a traffic violation. Motorists have learned that if they bribe you on the spot, you will let them drive away. You believe that only through such means can you pay the rent and put food on you family's table.

Role 2

You are parents of teenage sons. In the near future your sons are scheduled to be drafted into the Russian Army. You do not believe that the army is in the best interests of your sons so you bribe a high-ranking government official who agrees to remove the names of your children from the list of Russian army draftees.

Role 3

You are Russian business owners. On a regular basis you pay off government officials in order to stay in business. Most of your bribe money provides for the import of goods into Russia without high government taxes being imposed. You believe that the payoffs to government officials are just part of doing business and you pass these costs on to your clients through higher prices.

Role 4

You are high ranking government officials who seek and accept bribery for services. As former officials in the Soviet system you do not know how to govern in any other way. Many forms of payoffs to have always been part of the system and just because the system has changed there is no reason to expect that bribery and payoffs to you should also change. You believe that you are simply doing what has always been done.

Role 5

You are Russian reformists who believe that the old system of payoffs and extortion is wrong. You believe that corruption is holding society back both economically and politically. You believe that reforms must begin immediately or Russia will not advance politically or economically. You argue that 20 percent of the Russian people

STUDENT HANDOUT A

live in absolute poverty, while corruption and extortion divert public money away from social services and building necessary pieces of a societal infrastructure. You also argue that further democratic reform is not likely to occur when government officials are getting rich through a corrupt political system that they control.

ROLE 6

You are big business owners in Russia. You have numerous government officials on your "un-reported" payroll. While everyone knows that you are paying bribes, you argue that the free market system has failed and that life is not better for most people under western style capitalism. You believe that since many people are disenchanted with the free market system, you need to do whatever you can to help bring necessary goods and services to the people and help improve their lives.

ROLE 7

You are border customs officials. Many Russian citizens go outside Russia to purchase goods. Your job is to make sure that the amount of goods anyone brings back into the country does not exceed the limit set by the government. However, for a bribe, you will often look the other way and let people bring in more than they are allowed. Your wages are very low and bribes are a way to support your family.

ROLE 8

You have relatives who live outside Russia. Each month you visit them and load up on merchandise to bring back to Russia. Most of the merchandise you later sell on the "black market." You bribe customs officials in order to get the merchandise into the country. You make a decent living selling your goods on the illegal "black market," where you also often have to bribe the police and sometime judges.

ROLE 9

You are journalists for local newspapers. You argue in your news papers against government corruption at all levels. You believe that it is your job to expose corrupt practices and officials. In the past few years, several of your colleagues have been ordered out of the country and a few have disappeared in the middle of the night, never to be heard from again. Because of widespread disenchantment with government and the democratic experiment, citizens who read your papers generally feel helpless to do anything about the corruption that you write about.

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Thieves in the Cupboard: Examining Corruption in Russia

Introduction

In the publication Nations in Transit, 2002, The Republic of Russia was noted as possessing one of the highest degrees of corruption among the 27 NIS, Eastern, and Central European nations examined. Although corruption and extortion is a problem in almost all these nations, it is particularly problematic in Russia where both pervade everyday life and threaten the economic and political security of the country. In this lesson, students consider the causes and consequences of corruption and extortion practices in Russia and ways to control the problem.

Approximate Length

3 class periods

Grade Level

Middle School/Secondary

National Standards

National Civics Standards—Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the effects of significant international political developments in the United States and other nations.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- identify some of the reasons for corruption and extortion practices in Russia.
- describe some of the consequences of corruption and practices in Russia.
- defend a position on the need to maintain or to reduce the amount of corruption in Russia.

Essential Resources

- Student HANDOUT A "Corruption in Russia: Problem or Essential Way of Life?"

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

In this lesson students role-play Russian citizens debating the pros and cons of corruption and extortion in Russia. From the beginning it will be important to help students understand that corruption and extortion have been a part of the political and economic landscape in the ex Soviet Union and Russia for decades. Additionally students must be reminded that while these practices may run counter to ethical and moral beliefs, corruption and extortion do provide economic benefits to many and serve as a means for resolving many bureaucratic issues and problems. Finally, it should always be kept in mind that corruption in government and business is not just a problem in NIS and East and Central Europe, it is a problem in every country, including the United States.

1 Introduce the lesson by asking students to discuss the meaning of the following quote:

"Corruption's not of modern date; It hath been tried in ev'ry state."

-John Gray, Fables II, 1783.

The quote refers to the fact that corruption at the state level is not new and in fact has been (and is) common among governments.

Ask students if they can provide examples of corruption in government. List the examples on the chalkboard and ask them to describe the circumstances behind the examples provided.

2 After the discussion, tell students that in this lesson they will be provided an opportunity to examine government corruption in Russia. Tell them that among 27 countries in Eastern and Central Europe and the NIS, Russia is ranked in the top five of corruption in government. Tell them that when people write and/or talk about corruption in Russia they use terms like Thieves in Power, Kleptocrats, and Thieves in the Cupboard, to describe government officials.

3 Explain to students that in this lesson they will be role playing different groups of people who are calling a Russian radio talk show to express their views about corruption in Russia.

Background: In a survey conducted by Freedom House and published in Nations in Transit, 2002, Russia was assigned a corruption score of 6.5 on a scale of 1 (low) to eight (high). Of the 27 countries measured, only four countries scored at the same or higher level. The countries scoring at the same level or higher are Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, and Moldova. Although Russia has made progress in implementing democratic and free market reforms, corruption within government threatens to slow or reverse much of what has been accomplished.

4 Remind students that government corruption is particularly common in Russia and that while some work to get rid of it, others work to maintain it. Ask who might work against it and who might work to maintain it.

5 Divide students into groups of two persons. Provide each student with a copy of the Student Handout "Corruption in Russia." Assign one of the roles to each pair of students. Instruct students to study their roles and to prepare to argue the corruption position developed in their roles. Tell them that the purpose of the lesson is to help them understand some of the reasons for government corruption in Russia and some of the consequences. Also explain that there are always two sides to an issue and you will ask them to defend a position for maintaining or curbing government corruption in Russia.

Background: Living with and working within a system of government corruption was common for people in the former Soviet Union. In the NIS today, although democracy and free markets have been instituted, government corruption remains, especially in Russia. While some believe that corruption may destroy reform efforts, others say that it is a necessary fact and way of life.

Recent surveys show that 75 percent of all Russian officials take bribes but that only 0.4 percent are punished in any way. Bribes are thought to consume $49 million a month in Russia. Organized crime and corruption in Russia cost the country approximately $15 billion a year while 20 percent of the population live in absolute poverty—defined as less than $2.15 per day. A poll conducted a few years ago in Russia showed that 72 percent of the respondents said they would abide by the law only if officials did so.

6 Tell students that today, the radio talk show "Russia Today" is asking Russian citizens to call and voice their opinion on government corruption. Tell them that they will need to raise their hands to be recognized by the talk show host and that once they are recognized they may give their opinion (based on the assigned roles). Only after all opinions are heard, will students (the callers) be provided an opportunity to debate one another. You may assign a talk show host or choose to play the host yourself. After all opinions are heard, the talk show host may invite a debate by asking callers to call back for the purpose of stimulating a debate of the issue.

7 Conduct the talk show part of the lesson.

8 Conclude the lesson by writing "Causes of Government Corruption in Russia," and "Consequences of Government Corruption in Russia." Ask students to identify in some of the reasons for government corruption in Russia and to identify some of the consequences of government corruption in Russia. Write the reasons under the appropriate heading.

9 Finally, assign students to defend a position in writing for or against working to rid Russia of government corruption from a Russian point of view. For example from the point of view of a Russian police office or from the point of view of a "black marketer."

ASSESSMENT

Options for evaluating student work in this lesson include:

- Evaluating student's participation in the planning and development of the role-play presentations. Criteria should include initiative, involvement, cooperation, and follow-through.
- Evaluating student's participation in the role-play presentations. Criteria should include overall effort, creativity, use of language, and degree of persuasiveness.
- The position defenses should be evaluated on their clarity in describing the position as well as on persuasiveness in stating and supporting reasons for the position. Even though the position was written into the role play, it may be difficult for students to defend a position to maintain government corruption. It is not necessary to force this position

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STUDENT HANDOUT A

Corruption In Russia Lesson Role Plays

Role 1

You are members of a local Russian city police force. Since independence, your job has become even more dangerous than it was under Soviet rule. Yet your monthly salary has not been raised in over five years. While a few of your fellow officers have been lucky enough to get hired by private firms as security guards, most have not. In order to provide for the welfare of your family, you routinely stop motorists who have done nothing and threaten to give them tickets for a traffic violation. Motorists have learned that if they bribe you on the spot, you will let them drive away. You believe that only through such means can you pay the rent and put food on you family's table.

Role 2

You are parents of teenage sons. In the near future your sons are scheduled to be drafted into the Russian Army. You do not believe that the army is in the best interests of your sons so you bribe a high-ranking government official who agrees to remove the names of your children from the list of Russian army draftees.

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Role 5

You are Russian reformists who believe that the old system of payoffs and extortion is wrong. You believe that corruption is holding society back both economically and politically. You believe that reforms must begin immediately or Russia will not advance politically or economically. You

STUDENT HANDOUT A

argue that 20 percent of the Russian people live in absolute poverty, while corruption and extortion divert public money away from social services and building necessary pieces of a societal infrastructure. You also argue that further democratic reform is not likely to occur when government officials are getting rich through a corrupt political system that they control.

ROLE 6

You are big business owners in Russia. You have numerous government officials on your "un-reported" payroll. While everyone knows that you are paying bribes, you argue that the free market system has failed and that life is not better for most people under western style capitalism You believe that since many people are disenchanted with the free market system, you need to do whatever you can to help bring necessary goods and services to the people and help improve their lives.

ROLE 7

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ROLE 9

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Democratic Culture: Principles and Problems

Introduction

Since the collapse of the USSR in 1991, many nations that make up the Newly Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union have actively sought to reform Soviet authoritarian government with various forms of democracy. Although it is now more than ten years since independence was gained by these states, most continue to struggle with implementing democratic government processes. At least part of the reason for the struggle can be attributed to the challenge of developing a democratic culture. In this lesson, students explore some of the principles of a democratic culture and examine the problems and issues of instituting these principles in the Newly Independent States.

Approximate Length

2 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

National Standards

National Standards for Civics and Government—How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society? What is the impact of the concept of democracy and individual rights on the world? Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the impact of American political ideas on the world.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- define the term "democracy"
- describe many of the key ideas that define democracy.
- identify the principles of a democratic culture.
- analyze some of the problems Newly Independent States face in achieving democracy because of their lack of a democratic culture.

Essential Resources

- Student HANDOUT A "Bozijistan Information Bulletin."

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 There are many definitions and types of democracy. Generally democratic government is defined as a form of government different from other forms of government such as a monarchy or dictatorship. Ask students to describe the type of democracy found in the United States today. Ask how this form of democracy is different from other forms of democracy. Explain that in this lesson, students will be asked to examine what it means to possess a democratic culture. Tell them that one of the reasons democracy is not flourishing in many NIS countries is the lack of an evolving democratic culture. Also tell them that they will be asked to analyze why cultures of democracy are not being realized and how the lack of democratic cultures might slow the process of democratization in the NIS.

Ask students to identify what they consider to be the key elements or components of a democracy. List these elements on the chalkboard.

Ask students to discuss to what degree democracy in the US is based on these principles.

2 Ask students to define the term democratic culture. List the various descriptions on the chalkboard and discuss.

• **Concept:** A democracy places final decision-making in the hands of the people. Government exists only by the consent of the citizens.

• **Concept:** Types of democracy include direct democracy and representative or indirect democracy. Two forms of representative democracy are presidential democracy and Parliamentary democracy. The US is a presidential, representative democracy.

• **Concept:** A democracy is both formal and procedural. Formal democracy consists of a set of rules, procedures, and institutions. Substantive democracy consists of an on-going process in which individuals have the ability to participate in decisions.

• **Concept:** Principles of democracy might include the following: inclusive citizenship; rule of law; separation of powers; elected power holders; freedom of expression and alternative sources of information; association ' autonomy or civilian control over security forces

3 Ask students to describe the degree to which they think the US possesses a democratic culture. Ask them to provide examples.

Distribute Handout A "Bozijistan Information Bulletin" to each student. Ask students to read the information and to assess the degree to which Bojisitan possesses a democratic culture.

4 Divide students into small groups of 4-5. Instruct students to discuss why or why not Bozijistan possesses a democratic culture. Lead a whole classroom discussion on the degree to which Bozijistan does or does not possess a democratic culture.

5 Back in small groups, ask students to identify and list the formal and procedural rules and processes needed in order for Bojisitan to move forward in the development of a democratic culture. Ask small groups to share their ideas in large groups and list the ideas on the chalkboard.

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6 Assign students to write a one-page paper titled "Democratic Culture 101" in which they explain the principles of democratic culture and how the lack of a democratic culture is holding many NIS back from realizing a functional democratic government.

Note: The information sheet portrays a country that is moving towards democracy but lacks many of the necessary ingredients for a truly functional democracy, including a strong sense of democratic culture.

ASSESSMENT

Students may be assessed on both their participation in the small group and class discussions and on their writing assignment. Use the following criteria:

- Attentiveness to the information in the activity sheet.
- Thoughtful contributions.
- Active listening.

The written assignment should reflect accurately factual information, contain well-reasoned arguments, and use appropriate language and writing style.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Bozijistan Information Bulletin

Despite over a decade of independence and an ongoing transition to democracy and a free market, Bozijistan has yet to achieve full development of either. Widespread poverty has taken an enormous toll on the process of democratization because it has led to widespread political apathy and has led to a decline in civic consciousness. Many people feel that political participation and civic action cannot help resolve their problems.

Democratization is not seen as a way to prosperity. The political system combines elements of democracy and autocratic rule. Basic civil liberties are in place and the press is relatively free. However the right of citizens to change their government has been severely and at time brutally restricted. Most elections held sine 1986 have fallen short of international standards.

The constitution of Bozijistan allows for the election of a president and a parliament. The parliament of 140 seats appoints a prime minister who in turn nominates cabinet members, who must then be approved by the president. In ten years, nine different prime ministers have held office. The parliament can unseat the entire government with a vote of no confidence, while the president possesses the power to dissolve parliament. Currently there are nearly 100 registered political parties but only ten or so are strong enough to exercise any influence.

In 1997 eight members of parliament were murdered at the parliament building. Although some pointed to the president and claimed the act as a means of getting rid of political opposition, no formal charges have been made.

According to the Ministry of Justice, more than 2000 registered non governmental organizations existed in Bozijistan in 2001. Nevertheless, only a few operate in practice. The scope of activity includes politics, human rights, labor and business. Most depend on money provided by NGOs from western countries. Most Bozijistan citizens are too poor to participate in Bozijistan NGO activities.

Article 65 of the Bozijistan Constitution guarantees to all "the right to freedom of speech, and the right to seek, receive and disseminate information and ideas by any means of information communication." Freedom of speech can be restricted "by law, if necessary, for the protection of state and public order, health and morality, and the rights, freedoms, honor and reputation of others."

Problems with the rule of law are among the most acute in Bozijistan. The most frequent issue, corruption, remains high. Government connections are important to many types of economic activity and the government does not enforce fair business competition properly. Payoffs to government officials at all levels are a common practice. Too, despite legal provisions, the police frequently abuse suspects and prisoners. There have been cases in which prisoners have died because of mistreatment while in custody.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

The impartiality and fairness of Bozijistan judges varies dramatically, depending on the nature of the case they are trying. The public does not perceive the courts as independent and free of corruption, and sensitive political cases against the government are almost never resolved. This reflects the fact that the constitution fails to provide for an independent judiciary and that the majority of judges are appointed by the president for life.

The difficult socioeconomic conditions in Bozijistan have given rise to populism and demagogy. With liberal values largely discredited, voters tend to support political groups that promise quick fixes through active state interference in economic affairs. The absence of a strong middle class is a serious problem to the development of democracy. Social polarization and widespread disaffection with the country's leadership feed uncertainty about long-term stability. The mechanism for elections is too flawed to provide for a legitimate framework for popular participation in governance. As a result, Bozijistan is vulnerable to future upheavals.

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Pathways to Independence and Democratization

Introduction

In this lesson students compare and contrast the pathway of independence and democratization in the US to the pathways of independence and democratization in the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union. Before beginning the lesson, prepare a list of print and/or Internet resources to help students begin research. To assist in research on the US, a standard US History and/or American Government text should be sufficient. For the Newly Independent States, information in this resource book and/or country specific Internet sites will be helpful.

Approximate Length

4-5 class periods

Grade Level

Middle School

National Standards

National History Standards, US History, Era 3, Standard 3—The institutions and practices of government created during the Revolution and how they were revised between 1787 and 1815 to create the foundation of the American political system based on the US Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

National Civics Standards—What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs? How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society?

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- describe the process of democratization in the US and Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union.
- compare and contrast the way in which independence was achieved in the US and Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union.

Essential Resources

- Student Handout A "Democracy Rankings in Eastern and Central Europe and the Newly Independent States of the Soviet Union."
- Student Handout B "Selected Historical Events of the USSR."
- Student Handout C "Milestones to Independence and Democracy in the United States."

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Begin the lesson by asking students to summarize the process by which the United States became an independent nation and adopted a democratic form of government. Next, ask students how countries such as Russia, Armenia, Ukraine, and Moldova became independent. Ask what kinds of government existed before independence and what kind of governments exist today in these countries. Summarize student responses on the chalkboard. (Students may have only a general notion of how the US and/or NIS achieved independence and democracy. Record student responses on the chalkboard, however general or incomplete they might be, as you will be referring to them later in the lesson)

2 Provide each student with a copy of Student HANDOUT A "Democracy Ranking in Eastern and Central Europe and the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union." Explain that the ten countries listed as Consolidated Democracies have, for the most part, developed democratic forms of government. Explain that most of the nations listed as Transitional Governments are attempting to develop democratic forms of government.

3 Divide students into groups of 4-5. Give one group a copy of Student HANDOUT C "Milestones to Independence and Democracy in the United States" and the others a copy of Student HANDOUT B "Selected Historical Events of the USSR."

4 Ask the student groups assigned to NIS countries to select one of the countries from the Democracy Rankings handout that are either Consolidated Democracies or Transitional Governments.

5 Provide class time to conduct research and/or assign groups research as a homework assignment. After students have completed research, ask them to complete their paper "A Short History of Independence and Democracy in _____."

Once papers have been developed, instruct groups to prepare a 2-3 minute presentation on how independence and democracy was formed in the country they researched. Provide time for the presentations.

6 Conclude the lesson by asking students to summarize how the country achieved independence and a democratic form of government. Finally, instruct students to suggest similarities and differences in the processes of independence and democratization in the countries researched. Record the major discussion points on the chalkboard.

ASSESSMENT

Assessment options may include:

- Evaluating participation in the introductory and concluding discussions. Criteria should be developed to include: amount of contribution, quality of ideas, and active listening.
- Evaluating papers. Criteria should include: accuracy, originality, quality of work, and development of key ideas and concepts.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Democracy Rankings in Eastern and Central Europe

and the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union

Consolidated Democracies (most democratic to least democratic)

1.Poland	2.Slovenia
3.Lithuania	4.Estonia
5.Hungary	6.Latvia
7.Slovakia	8.Czech Republic
9.Bulgaria	10.Croatia

Transitional Governments (most democratic to least democratic)

Romania	Bosnia
Yugoslavia	Ukraine
Albania	Russia
Macedonia	Kyrgyz Republic
Moldova	Azerbaijan
Georgia	Tajikistan
Armenia	Kazakhstan

Consolidated Autocracies (least autocratic to most autocratic)

Uzbekistan

Belarus

Turkmenistan

Source: *Nations in Transit* 2000

Place the names of all countries researched on the chalkboard. Next to each, write independence and below that, democracy. Record student summaries for each.

Note: Not all countries researched will have followed the same path nor be at the same stage of democratic development. It is important for students to understand that although most NIS have a similar history of independence and democratic development, there are important differences such as in Lithuania and Estonia.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Selected Historical Events of the USSR

1917	October Revolution
1922	USSR declared
1940	Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Moldova added to USSR
1956	Soviet troops put down revolution in Hungary
1961	Berlin Wall constructed
1968	Soviet troops invade Czechoslovakia
1979	Soviet troops invade Afghanistan
1980	Independent trade union Solidarity founded in Poland
1990	Berlin Wall destroyed
1990	Lithuania declares independence from the USSR
1991	Estonia begins independence process
1991	Commonwealth of Independent States Organized
1991	Supreme Soviet officially dissolved the USSR

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Milestones to Independence and Democracy in the United States

1607	Founding of Jamestown
1620	Mayflower lands at Plymouth Rock with Pilgrims
1629	King Charles I dissolves English Parliament – many English citizens leave for colonies
1620 – 1732	Colonies settled
1660	Navigation Acts passed by England
1754 – 1763	French and Indian War
1764	Sugar Act Passed by English Parliament
1765	Stamp Act Passed by English Parliament
1773	Boston Tea Party
1774	First Continental Congress
1775	American Revolution Begins
1775	Second Continental Congress
1776	Declaration of Independence
1777	Articles of Confederation
1783	Treaty of Paris
1787	Constitutional Convention
1789	George Washington Elected President
1783-1790	Constitution Ratified by States

Independence and Democratization: A Comparison

Introduction

Since gaining freedom, most of the former Soviet Republics had made some progress towards achieving democratization. However, in many, if not most, democracy had only put down shallow roots and after ten years was still a concept to be realized. The process of achieving independence and democratization in the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union differs sharply from the initial experience with independence and democratization begun in the United States over 200 years ago. Forged out of conflict, compromise, and trial and error, the democratic experiment in the US was created over a period of more than 150 years. In the NIS countries, independence was achieved almost over night and democratic reforms initiated almost immediately.

In this lesson students compare and contrast independence and democratization in the US to independence and democratization in the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union. Before beginning the lesson, prepare a list of print and/or Internet resources to help students begin research. To assist in research on the US, a standard US History and/or American Government text should be sufficient. For the Newly Independent States, information in this resource book and/or country specific Internet sites will be helpful.

Approximate Length

3-4 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

National Standards

National History Standards, US History: Era 3, Standard 3—The institutions and practices of government created during the Revolution and how they were revised between 1787 and 1815 to create the foundation of the American political system based on the US Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

National Civics Standards—What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs? How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society?

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- describe the process of democratization in the US and Newly Independent States of the Soviet Union.
- compare and contrast the way in which independence was achieved in the US and Newly Independent States of the Soviet Union.

Essential Resources

- Sheets of poster paper and markers

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Begin the lesson by asking students to summarize the process by which the United States became an independent nation and adopted a democratic form of government. Next, ask students how countries such as Russia, Armenia, Ukraine, and Moldova became independent. Ask what kinds of government existed before independence and what kind of governments exist today in these countries. Summarize student responses on the chalkboard. (Students may have only a general notion of how the US and/or NIS achieved independence and democracy. Record student responses on the chalkboard, however general or incomplete they might be, as you will be referring to them later in the lesson.)

2 Divide students into small groups of four students each. Assign two students the task of researching how independence and democratization was achieved in the United States. Assign the remaining two students to research how independence and democratization is being achieved in one of the nations of the former Soviet Union.

3 Tell groups that they will be responsible for developing a timeline of major events in the history of independence and democratization in the country they are researching. Instruct each group to select no more than twenty events or milestones that contributed to independence and democratization. Each event or milestone selected should be placed on the timeline. Each timeline should begin with events that led to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

4 *Provide time for students to conduct research and construct timelines.*

Groups each of the groups one of the following: Moldova; Armenia; Ukraine; Russia; Lithuania; Estonia; Croatia; Czech Republic; Azerbaijan; Kazakhstan; Poland; Slovenia; Slovakia

5 *After students have completed their research and timelines, ask the groups of four students (two US and two NIS research groups) to share their timelines and to answer the following questions:*

a. How is the process of independence and democratization similar and/or different?

b. How are the results of independence and democratization similar and/or different?

ASSESSMENT

- Ask students to suggest similarities and differences in the process of independence and democratization in the countries researched. Record the major discussion points on the chalkboard.
- Evaluate participation in the introductory and concluding discussions. Criteria might include amount of contribution, quality of ideas, and active listening.
- Evaluate timelines. Criteria might include accuracy, originality, quality of work, demonstration of ideas, and effort.

SECTION TWO ESSAYS

VOICES OF TRANSITION

Overview

Democracy in Ukraine — Polina Verbytska

An Armenian View — Serob Khachatryan

Yveta's Story: A Czech-Roma Experience — Yveta Kenety

Before and After in Azerbaijan — Leyla Safarova

Power for the People or the Authorities? (Russia) — P.Simonenko/V.Kurilov

The Rivers Council: A Russian Memory — Yegor Ivanov

Travel Before and After (Czech Republic) — Dana Rabinakova

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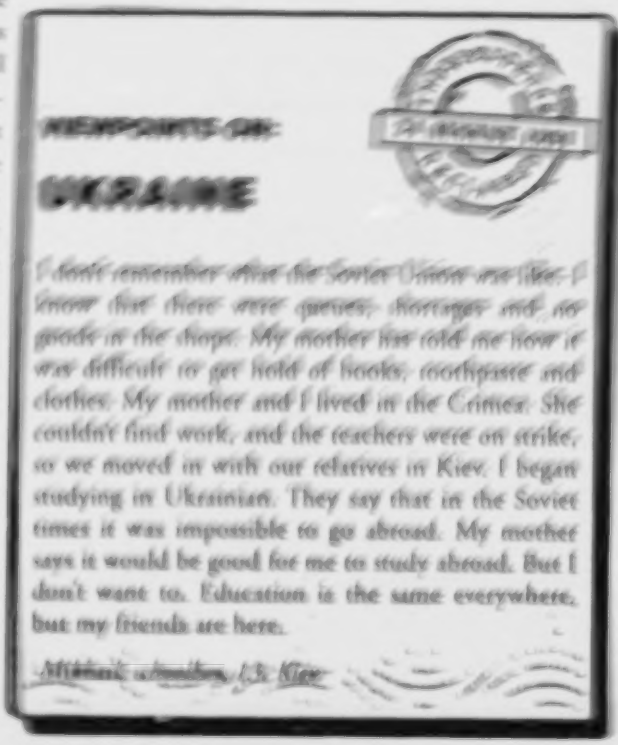
Overview

People directly involved in the transition from the Soviet Union to independence wrote the personal accounts included in this section. Among the essays included here are the memories of a young man from Siberia, a student from Ukraine, and a Latvian citizen who relates how the act of traveling from one area of the world to another radically changed her life.

Lesson plans that are directly related to this section are also included. These are an attempt to help students to understand the significance of history at the "street level" — revealing the larger issues confronting any evolving, transitional society. In addition, we have included three lessons designed and written by Russian teachers for their own classes. These lessons, written from a different perspective, can be used with American students to compare and contrast the meaning of democracy in different nations. Teachers should feel free to allow students to range widely, and wisely, in these comments. Encourage them to think about their own vision of the society in which they live: the good, the bad and the indifferent aspects of their society. The key to this section is to get students to reflect on the ways in which the ordinary citizens of a nation are or are not involved in the ongoing operation of their society.

It is worth mentioning that the concepts of "citizenship" and civic education have been changing in Ukraine recently. They did not exist in Soviet pedagogy. The pedagogical dictionary (Moscow, 1960) characterizes civic upbringing as a reactionary trend in bourgeois pedagogy of the imperialist epoch aimed at bringing up young workers as obedient servants of capitalism. Under the Soviet system, the educational system was a part of ideological and political upbringing of pro-Communist upbringing, under the forges of internationalism were aimed at the denationalization of the nations of the Soviet republics. The idea was to turn nations and national minorities into "Soviet people". Shaping a disciplined, politically aware and active citizen-internationalist was introduced into school practice. And the communist ideologists considered the school as the key institution of this practice.



I don't remember what the Soviet Union was like. I know that there were queues, shortages and no goods in the shops. My mother has told me how it was difficult to get hold of books, toothpaste and clothes. My mother and I lived in the Crimea. She couldn't find work, and the teachers were on strike, so we moved in with our relatives in Kiev. I began studying in Ukrainian. They say that in the Soviet times it was impossible to go abroad. My mother says it would be good for me to study abroad. But I don't want to. Education is the same everywhere, but my friends are here.

Mykhaylo Ivanchuk, 13, Kiev

History as a school discipline was under the political and ideological control of the political authorities. And history teachers were supposed to be mediators transferring the regime's instructions into school practice. They played a significant role in raising the level of ideological and political education of communist builders not only at the lessons but also in out-of-school activities.

The issues of civic upbringing and citizenship in general have become objects of special attention in modern Ukrainian society, in particular among educators. Ukrainian scholars distinguish between a formal status of a citizen (Juridical encyclopedia, 1998: p.641 – legal belonging of a citizen to the state, constant legal connection of an individual with the state which is manifested in their rights and responsibilities – namely citizenship) and an informal concept of citizenship characterized by the state of his/her consciousness which determines an informal attitude of a citizen towards their country and obligations before society – namely civility. The Ukrainian political scientist Yu.Shcherbatyuk gives such definition of civility: Civility is the willingness and ability of a citizen to participate actively in the affairs of the state and society on the basis of deep realization of his rights and responsibilities." (Juridical encyclopedia, 1998: p.647).

Democratic state and civil society formation in Ukraine define also new tasks of history education at school. The main aims of teaching history at school are stated in the curricula as formation of historical knowledge and development of historical skills of students; bringing up in students individual traits of a citizen of Ukraine, common to all mankind general values; orientation; assimilation of ideas of humanism, democracy and patriotism; preparation of students to the active participation in the social life (Curricula for Secondary Schools, p.3). A special task is forming positive historical self-identification in order overcome the inferiority complex of the Ukrainian nation, which had its own state for short periods of time.

However, the declared new approaches to History education are not always introduced and

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The Development of Democracy in Ukraine

By Polina Verbytska

In Ukraine, the institutional system of representative democracy has existed only since the proclamation of Independence in 1991. In theory, we have a democratic Constitution, parliament, multiparty system, division of power, and local self-government – all of the attributes of representative democracy. People in Ukraine may express their own thoughts freely and may defend their political positions. Those, who have accepted democratic values together with like-minded people, have an opportunity to introduce them into life.

But the problem is "the gap between formal political constructs and everyday reality, between 'words and deeds', symbolism and practice (which) is most characteristic of the post-communist Ukrainian situation" (Stepanenko, 1999). In the Ukrainian society democratic traditions have not been firmly established in theory, as well as in practice. There exist many controversial issues in the social and political situation in Ukraine. They are connected with the formation of a civil society that provides better opportunities of access to mass media for all political forces.

In spite of some superficial changes, the declared policy of Ukrainian society democratization has not changed the balance of power between the state and the citizen. It is characteristic of modern Ukrainian citizens to passively observe social development processes, underestimating their own role in the transformation of society while hoping to receive state support.

"In Ukraine government and society are two separate worlds which exist in a parallel way and meet each other only twice in five years during parliamentary and presidential elections," according to Victor Yushchenko, a well-known Ukrainian politician. But in the periods between elections the influence of the public on government is minimal. There is a growing indifference to politics on the part of average citizens and disillusionment about the effectiveness of changes and improvement.

The preservation and development of a free society requires more than superficial changes. Only the force of democratic traditions can overcome the negative consequences of totalitarianism. Cardinal improvement of the economic situation and the standard of living is impossible without changes in the sphere of social consciousness. So, the importance of civil society for the development of democracy in Ukraine makes the issue of forming democratic civic culture very important.

An important step involves developing civic competences such as tolerance, respect for human rights, ability to overcome stereotypes, to reach compromises and to work together for attaining common goal. It is necessary also that citizens should not only think independently and critically, but also know their rights and responsibilities and be sure that they can influence social processes in reality.

used in practice. There are certain reasons for it mentioned below.

Despite great willingness to bring up students with democratic individualities, teachers have difficulties in realization of this aim, to a great extent because of insufficient training, since most of teachers of History were professionally trained before Ukraine was proclaimed an independent state. Numerous publications on educational problems and opinion polls in Ukraine testify to the fact that the most difficult and necessary process in training teachers is elimination of the set stereotypes of activity, thinking and behavior, which were established in the conditions of monotonous, ideologically loaded system of education and authoritative methods of teaching, which prevailed in Ukrainian schools for whole decades.

According to the data of monitoring research conducted by the Institute of Social and Political Psychology of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine in 1998, less than 6% of students receive information on the life in the country from their teachers, 45% of young teachers are not sure they have sufficient level of methodological training, 40% of teachers with working experience less than 5 years find their training in principal subjects unsatisfactory. 38 % of young teachers do not understand the processes going on in the life of the country and do not have time to assimilate the new content and directions of new curricula and textbooks. (Bulletin of the Institute of Social and Political Psychology of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of Ukraine, 1998: p.29)

In the opinion polls (surveys of teachers' professional interests), which were conducted in 2001 by All-Ukrainian Association of Teachers of History, Civic Education and Social Studies "Nova Doba", teachers enumerate a number of aspects of modern social and political history which are the most topical and necessary for the development of civic knowledge and skills of modern youth, but are not given due attention in the modern curricula and instructional materials in History. Among the problems mentioned by teachers are: national and ethnic problems; legal status of an individual in world countries; everyday life of a citizen in a country; regional conflicts; social and political movements, nationalism, experience of building a rule-of-law, social state, formation of civil society in post-totalitarian countries; the role of youth and youth organizations in modern world; the role and place of Ukraine in Europe and world.

The biggest problems in learning and teaching the school course in History, in the opinion of teachers polled, are: overloaded modern curricula and textbooks; outdated approaches to the selection of facts and their interpretation in school textbooks; one prevailing variant of historical events interpretation; insufficient quantity of historical sources for corroboration; lack of appropriate methodological materials; mythologization of historical events; disillusionment of youth in the importance of civic position, etc.

However, we are glad to point out, that in spite of a number of subjective and objective problems a considerable number of Ukrainian teachers show great interest in improving their intellectual and professional level. This tendency can be traced in the activities of All-Ukrainian Association of Teachers of History, Civic Education and Social Studies "Nova Doba", which has been active since 1997 and now unites teachers from practically all regions (oblasts) of Ukraine.

While in the past the function of a History teacher was confined to being a passive recipient of scientific, pedagogical and ideological ideas and schemes, nowadays in the framework of the Association "Nova Doba" we can observe interaction and active participation of teachers of Ukraine in discussing various topical issues of teaching history and social studies, in expert analysis of curricula, concept papers, and in the development of instructional materials. Providing History teachers with wide opportunities to learn about new content and progressive forms and methods of teaching, Association "Nova Doba" has become an addition, and sometimes an alternative to the existing state teacher training institutions. The teachers,

members of the Association, who were appropriately trained, are widely disseminating acquired experience among colleagues from their schools, cities and regions. Besides conducting teacher-training seminars teachers develop instructional materials and initiate introduction of optional courses in social studies into school practice.

The important factors, which substantially influence in a positive way the improvement in the sphere of history and civic education in Ukraine, are international cooperation and partnership. In particular, due to the various international programs in the sphere of education (e.g. New Times, New History: Project on Innovation of History Education in Ukraine, Education for Democracy in Ukraine, EUSTORY: History Network for Young Europeans, CIVITAS: An International Civic Education Exchange Program, Democracy Education Exchange Project, Partners in Education) teachers participate regularly in exchange programs with their colleagues from Europe and the USA. Teachers jointly organize international seminars, conferences, competitions, etc. Ukrainian teachers receive practical information and methodological support from their international partners in the spheres of curricula and instructional materials development. The membership in the international organizations, promotes reinforcement of democratic principles of teaching history and social studies, contributes to introduction of innovations in teaching and intellectual freedom of teachers development.

Access to new information on new scientific and pedagogical technologies, opportunities for professional communication and broadening their horizons, and also real possibility to realize practically their creative potential, common ideas and plans have considerable influence on the process of personal and professional improvement of teachers in our country.

For Ukraine, which is a multinational state with ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious diversity, close cooperation of teachers and students from different regions of Ukraine in the framework of Association "Nova Doba" activities has a considerable influence on the construction of civic nation and the process of establishing democracy and civil society. Various events (seminars, conferences, discussions, competitions and civic actions) of voluntary character using innovative forms and methods contribute to the effective formation of civic position of teachers and students.

Hence, we realize that the process of establishing democracy and civil society is the main historical challenge for a post-communist transformation of Ukraine. The future of Ukraine as an independent and stable country, the success of its democratic transformations will depend on advancement of its civil society and political culture of its citizens.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

UZBEKISTAN

I'm personally happy with my life. I graduated from the polytechnic institute, and my neighbor and I opened a billiard hall. We first acquired one shop, and then a few more. Admittedly, we don't have a steady income. The explosions in Tashkent in February 1999 also really destabilized the situation. One of the shops and the billiard room were situated at a railway station, designed for guests from other towns. They became unprofitable.

-Shavkaat Xhuseinov, 32, businessman

The progress of history and civic education will also depend on how the civil society institutes will be developed in Ukraine. In our conviction, strengthening cooperation within our society and at the international level, especially in education, and civic responsibility will be able to help those beginnings of democracy, which already exist in Ukraine, to grow further.

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An Armenian Educator's View of the Transition

By Serob Khachatryan, Yerevan State University

My name is Serob Khachatryan. I was born in 1971 in Armenia. In 1988 I graduated from secondary school and continued my education at Yerevan State University. Now I am an assistant professor at the university and am also editor-in-chief of the newspaper Education

I attended school during the Soviet period (1978-88), studied at the university during the period of collapse of Soviet Union (1989-94), and am now working in the transitional period. I have been an eyewitness to great events, but it has been a very difficult time to live. A few years ago I think most Armenians felt an impending apocalypse. Institutions were operating under severe conditions. People would say, "We haven't school; we haven't industry; we haven't future."

One of the peculiarities of Armenia's present situation is that we are trying to create a national state and a liberal, democratic system simultaneously. In Soviet society the ideology was dominant; the political system operated mechanically. But now the role of the political system is different. If the old Soviet political system was future-oriented, the new political system is present-oriented. There was a confidence towards politics during the Soviet period. Now people are not actively involved and not interested in politics. Today there is a distrust of politics.

In Soviet era elections were formal. Mostly there was one candidate for a post. This meant, that the election process was not important. Now the situation is different. Sometimes we have more than 5 candidates running for elections. We were used to a one-party system and now we have more than 100 political parties. But mainly people's attitudes are the same as they were during the Soviet times. They act as if nothing depends on their decision and everything is clear beforehand. It's a very dangerous tendency for a country that is moving towards democracy.

Soviet society was a closed system and we felt alienated from other countries, but it was also a very stable society. During Soviet period I felt that knowledge was a goal. But now I think that knowledge is a tool, resource. When I graduated from school and university, I was proud to have a lot of knowledge and diplomas of excellence. But now I'm sure that the more important thing is not the quantity of information, but the ability to use it

One of the main differences between then and now is the content of education. To put it in other words the issue is what to teach. During the Soviet era we learned mostly scientific subjects. Now, I think, the most important thing is how to evaluate and rightly use scientific achievements and how to develop skills of com-

munication, co-existence, and tolerance. When I compare the Soviet period and nowadays, there are huge differences in teaching process. For example, the Soviet educational system was very authoritarian. For us, teachers were different from ordinary people; we doubted that they really ate like normal people! In one sense it was good, because for us in some sense teachers were living 'gods' and we worshipped them. But it had a negative aspect, because we didn't think critically and we passively accepted what they said.

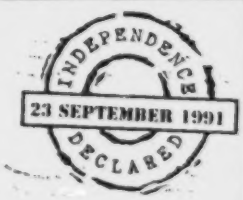
In Soviet system there was a lack of dialogue between teachers and students. There was a misunderstanding that the student's brain was a tabula rasa, or as Popper said – a bucket, and you need to fill it with knowledge. Now I think, that students have some information, knowledge about problems and my task is to correct, systemize and enrich their knowledge through dialogue. I try to engage my students in teaching process. If we produce the knowledge together, we are all owners of that knowledge. They need such a skills for their future life in a democratic society where participatory skill is of great importance. I think for me the exchange of views between Armenians and Americans (as shown by this project) is very useful for evaluating new realities. I got acquainted with some new teaching strategies, like scored discussion, Socratic method, problem solving, during my visit to the US. Now I am using these strategies in my university classes.

One of the fundamental changes is the societal change. One of the more interesting changes that I have seen is the relationship between generations. During Soviet era the elder generation had a power over younger generation. The main tool of power was experience. But now I feel a new reality in which generations have equal chances. And I think the main tools of power are flexibility, ability of life-long learning, innovative thinking. These competences are mainly peculiar to young generation. For example, in Armenia many young people speak foreign languages; use the computer and the Internet. These are real advantages and in many spheres of Armenian society, the younger generation is very strong. In the Soviet era, men dominated Armenia. But now women are more active than men in some spheres such as education and interpreting.

Armenia is one of the ancient civilizations in the world; we have deep-rooted traditions. During our history we struggled with many civilizations. Now Armenia is trying to restore a national identity. Some people suggest we restore a communist society. But on other side we are involved in an integration process with the world. As a result we have very diverse situation concerning our choices. As I said in the beginning, I have been an eyewitness to great events, but it's also a very difficult time to live.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

ARMENIA



From the outside my life seems fine. I had a more or less stable job. And today I'm not unemployed. But if tomorrow my boss were to leave, he'd "ask" me to go too. I'm an economist by training, but haven't used my profession for a long time, as it's no longer needed. Young people today look at life very pragmatically: they want to study less and earn more. And many of them grow up to be mean and self-satisfied.

-Armen Govorgan

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Serob Khachatryan, Assistant Professor,
Yerevan State University, Armenia, 2003

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Yveta's Story: A Czech-Roma Experience

By Yveta Kenety

I was born in 1971 in Prerov, a small town in Moravia, in what was then Czechoslovakia. The factories produced machinery and chemicals. There was also a brewery, which makes a local beer called Zubr. Huge potato, beetroot and hop fields (used in the beer) ran along the edges of town. Through the center runs the Becva River, where people fish year round and go skating and play ice hockey on in the winter. There are small hills and an old castle in the center. The town itself was established around the year 900, but reached its peak in the 1500s, but its look is far from a small picturesque old town as the Communist architects demolished old buildings and replaced them with blocks of flats.

My father who grew up in what is today western Slovakia, was an orphan after his mother died when he was 8 years old. There were 5 children and all were sent to live with different relatives. The family my father ended up with was poor and uneducated. He was made to tend cows instead of going to school and was often beaten, sometimes with a chain. His teacher recommended him for a high school that specialized in agriculture, but his guardians refused to let him attend. Instead they sent him to apprentice as a blacksmith, fashioning horseshoes and farm tools. As soon as he could, my father left his home for Moravia to do his mandatory two-year service with the Czechoslovak Army. He never returned to Slovakia and over the years completely lost contact with his family.

Despite his "rough background" and lack of education, he was a handsome, gentle and decent man, who never used foul language or drank much. He played the violin and loved to dance (he once admitted that he always chose his girlfriends by the way they danced-a bad dancer had no chance).

My father held all kinds of factory jobs, but because he hated them he didn't stay in any one job for more than a year, which was looked upon with suspicion by the Communist authorities. In fact, it was a crime not to have a fixed address and employment. He had already been married twice before he met my mother, while working in the uranium mines outside her hometown of Dobris, about an hour south of the capital, Prague.

They were both living in what was called a "worker's hotel," a kind of temporary housing facility for as many as 20 tenants. They married about 6 months later and moved to to the other side of today's Czech Republic where my father found a job and a small apartment. A month after I was born they moved into a state-owned apartment because my mother worked as a clerk for a State-run company distributing leather goods.

Ashqabat, Turkmenistan, Statue of Turkmenbashi

When I was 8 years old, my parents separated and my mother went to night school to get her high school diploma. Eventually, she remarried and I gradually lost contact with my father, for nearly a decade. I spent nearly every summer with my cousins on my mother's side, who lived in South Bohemia, but never met any of my father's relatives. Somehow I did not find it very strange that I never met them.

I was a rather happy child, checking out about 10 books a month from the local library, enjoying going to school, having many good friends. I also played basketball, regularly went horseback riding and enjoyed painting classes. My stepfather Zdenek worked as a lathe worker in the Prerovske Strojirny factory, where half the adults in town worked to build all kinds of machinery. For 30 years, he left for work at 5:30 every morning and came home at 3:00 in the afternoon. He was proud of two things, his Ford Taunus from the 70's and a self-built wooden cottage in the nearby Jeseniky Mountains, where I learned to ski.

Just before my mother and Zdenek married, we went on a long trip to Bulgaria, to the Black Sea. It was the first time I ever swam in the sea. The journey was long; it took us three days to get to the coast traveling through Hungary and Rumania. I remember the adventurous drive through the Transylvanian Alps and local Roma (also known as Gypsies), stopping us and offering "gold" rings. My mom and Zdenek bought them thinking they got a bargain. Two weeks after we returned home, the "gold rings" turned black.

Prerov was a town of about 40,000 people then. There was a large population of Roma who mainly lived in the crumbling historical buildings. Most Czechs wanted to live in the newly built apartment blocks then and so the center was ironically left to the Roma. I remember a lot of hostile confrontations. "Czechs" – the white people – came into the center to do their shopping and the Roma were viewed as obnoxious and aggressive, harassing non-Roma children.

They nearly always hung out together in large groups and we were afraid of them. . I remember girls demanding that I give them my chocolate or ice cream. It was common for Czechs to be openly contemptuous of the Roma and the two groups really never mixed socially. The Roma generally worked in construction or were getting welfare benefits, but rarely worked in the factories. There were sometimes clashes between the groups outside the discos, the only place where the "whites" and Roma met in larger numbers.

It seemed to us that Roma boys went out of their way to pick fights. Everyone thought Roma carried knives on them and so the Czech boys were afraid to get into fights with them. I had no friends among the Roma, and to be honest, I thought they were dirty and stupid, but good dancers. I wasn't taught this at home – I don't remember my mother ever saying a negative word about the Roma – but other people freely criticized and stereotyped them. We thought they had too many children and were not able to look after them properly and that their apartments were flea-ridden hovels.

But the fact is we knew little about them as individuals or as a nation. Almost all of them were sent to "special schools" for mentally retarded. There wasn't a single Roma in my elementary or high school. And their children didn't go to summer camps, a big part of our culture.

I myself am pretty dark for a "Czech" with thick dark-brown hair and hazel eyes and get very tan in the summer. I remember when I was at a summer camp at age 8 or 9, a group of girls were teasing me in a very nasty way, calling me "Cigoshka," a pejorative form of the word Gypsy, something like calling an African-American "nigger." I cried a lot and felt confused. I told my mother about the teasing and she said just to try to ignore them, but otherwise was very quiet about it.

The "Velvet Revolution" that brought about the fall of Communism in Czechoslovakia came in 1989 when I was in my final year of high school. There was an intoxicating mix of fear and excitement, with no one knowing what would happen next. My class was scheduled to go to Prague for the traditional senior school trip two days after student-led street demonstrations calling for the end of the government. Our teacher, a Communist, canceled the trip and we watched the demonstrations grow and grow on television at home. The other classes got to go on their trips a couple of weeks later, when impromptu debates were being held in theaters and cinemas throughout Prague. The students held tickets to performances that never took place, but instead got to see history in the making. It was an unforgettable time that they will never forget.

Meanwhile, we were debating these issues in the classrooms. I remember endless arguments with some of my more rigid classmates, who tried to persuade me that the "free" healthcare and education would disappear. They did not manage to scare me because I was open to the changes and new opportunities.

This is why, just after graduating high school, I took the plunge and moved to Prague, into my father's old and shabby apartment. But I was happy to have a cheap place to live. My father left it soon after I moved in, to join his girlfriend in a village outside Prague. It was a bit of a shock for me to move to the big city, live in Zizkov, that infamous part of Prague with lots of low-class pubs, cheap beer and old houses. However, I liked the atmosphere, which, although a year after the revolution, was still wonderful and people were warm and friendly. It was tough to watch the prices soar, though. Coffee was suddenly 5 times the old price, but wages stayed the same.

My main goal of that time was to catch up on foreign languages, feeling that Czech and Russian

VIEWPOINTS ON:
31 AUGUST 1991
UZBEKISTAN
The collapse of the Soviet Union happened just before we retired, so we weren't able to change our lives radically. At first inflation went up every day, and it was difficult for everyone, not just us. Then life became a little easier. But our adult son has not found permanent work. The factory where my husband used to work has almost ground to a halt. We were forced to sell our flat in order to pay our debts.
-Blagodar Faina, housewife

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would not be enough to "meet the world" which was rather quickly approaching Prague. The first groups of tourists were German speaking. I signed up for intensive German language courses, thinking I would not need English as much. But after earning a State certificate in German, I then moved on to intensive English classes, mainly because I was beginning to encounter more and more English speakers around Prague, and we were excited by the new choice in film and music coming from England, the United States and Australia.

Today, studying languages might seem a totally normal thing to do, but back then there was only one state-run language school. It was very cheap and rather good, but it was very hard to get the few available spots in the classroom. The night before the enrollment, we had to sleep outside the school to be the first in the morning to be registered. I was the happiest woman on Earth to be in my first English class ever! I enjoyed the classes very much, learning tons every day. And I enjoyed even more meeting the long-forbidden and, to us, unknown English, American and Australian culture represented by the native teachers teaching at the State Language School. Being new to Prague myself, I felt close to them and enjoyed their company.

My mind was slowly opening up. I didn't know how to answer questions like: "Why do Czech people hate the Roma here so much?" At first I was taken aback, thinking it must surely be clear to EVERYBODY why Roma could not be liked by anybody. But after giving it some thought, I had to admit I didn't really know. I did not remember being ever asked that kind of question before.

In time I learned English well enough to start working as a translator, later on even as a legal translator. Thanks to my American friends I met my current husband who came to Prague, straight from New York, in 1996. Almost from the beginning, he liked to tease me, calling me "moje pulka Cikanka" (my little half Gypsy), because of my dark features – and, I have to admit, my own prejudices. I remember him saying if he were Roma, he would immigrate "in two seconds" to a multicultural society because the Roma seemed to have no chance in the Czech Republic.

As for being "half Gypsy," I didn't take it seriously, thinking I had strong enough arguments against this "accusation." For one thing, I am nearly 5' 10" and Roma are generally rather short. I don't fit the other stereotypes either: I have no ear for music. And of course, I wasn't raised in a Roma family.

A few years later, I was sitting in my mother's kitchen and somehow I told her about my boyfriend's teasing. "How did he know?!" she gasped. "It's true, but don't tell him about it!."

Well, maybe you can imagine I was more than a little surprised. Me? A Gypsy girl? How could I only find this out at age 26? When I later told my boyfriend, he was also totally surprised, as he didn't really believe his own joke. But some pieces to my father's story suddenly fell into place. He had left his home in Slovakia, never to return and cut all ties. When he married my mother, he took her surname – unheard of in Czech culture. Maybe this was a man with "something to hide."

But why didn't my mother tell me the truth much earlier? She had agreed with my father never to tell me ever, because they thought I would feel inferior and resent him for his origins. But while surprised, I was not angry at all. In a way, I was rather relieved, because I did have a certain "suspicion." I finally understood why I never met his relatives and why he changed his surname.

Sad as it may sound, they may have been right not to tell me about my father's origin back then. I remember how I felt when the girls at the summer camp called me "Cigoshko" and my only defense was: " I am not, what are you talking about?" Had I known, what would my "defense" have been? Would I have become more withdrawn and self-conscious?

I was lucky to have learned of my heritage at a time when the country itself was changing its atti-

tudes. As I said before, I had already begun to reevaluate my opinion of the Roma, influenced by my foreign friends coming from the democratic West. We'd been to Roma concerts together and they were curious to learn of their culture, and I was too.

Otherwise, for a time, the news did not have any great impact on my life. I went on working as legal translator for an American law firm and kept on trying to get into university. It was only in Spring of 2000 that I began to think of getting involved in the "Roma issue," when I read an article about a group of young Roma students meeting regularly and learning together more about their culture and also about the area of human rights and non-profit sector. The story was with lots of pictures of all kinds of young Roma and I suddenly felt the need to meet them. I realized only then that there is Roma blood in me and that I know nothing about the Roma culture, history, language, and even about the people themselves. I picked up my courage and contacted the Roma Member of Parliament who was organizing these seminars and asked if I could join them for one weekend. I was lucky as there was just one being prepared for the following weekend and I was invited to participate.

With butterflies in my stomach I set off for the cottage Doubravka in June 2000. I did not know what to expect, what kind of people will I meet. It was the first time I was going to speak to Roma people! I returned home after three days full of many discussions about various topics, nights full of dancing and singing, numerous of games and other activities. I did not regret for a second that I joined these people as I had a chance to meet a group of about 30 very nice smart and educated Roma. From some of them I learned a lot about their traditions and culture. I also met some young people who lost contact with their community as well as I did. Since this significant weekend, I became very interested in collecting more information related to Roma. So, the urge to trace my roots was a gradual process. Two years later, I became even a chair of this Roma organization, feeling the need to lead a group of young gifted Roma towards Europe and helping other Roma.

And how did my father respond to my question: "Are you a Roma, Dad?"

His first reaction was: "Oh, no, of course not!" It took quite a while for him to tell me his story. I never saw him this happy! He admitted that a huge stone fell off his shoulder. He said all his life he lived in a fear that I will find out one day and hate him forever. Also, it was the first time in years that he could talk about "his secret" with somebody. He said he "admitted" his origin to my mother a few days before marrying her. I tried to persuade him that he does not need to say "admit", that he did not do anything bad.

He never told the truth to his current girlfriend (they have been together for 12 years now!), mainly because they were living in living in northern Bohemia, a very industrial area, largely populated by Roma, where there is still hostility. It took a few months until he finally "admitted" the truth to his girlfriend. For this revelation, he chose the "spot of the crime" itself. After about 40 years, he decided

VIEWPOINTS ON:

ARMENIA

When the Soviet Union ceased to exist, borders appeared between the former republics. I could no longer sell my produce across the border, as customs duties were too expensive, so I became unemployed. My wife and daughter emigrated to the US. I occasionally speak to my daughter on the phone. They say she has become quite grown up. I don't have enough money to go to the US myself, and probably wouldn't get a visa anyway. What can I do? Continue to sell grilled chicken to survive, or abandon everything and leave? But where would I go?

-Garik Martirosan, small businessman

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to visit his hometown and look up his relatives. His girlfriend was very surprised that he suddenly decided to go to Slovakia because he always refused to before, despite her encouragements. She was happy to accompany him. A few meters away from his sister's house, he told her.

To his big relief and surprise, her reaction was very positive and she was still eager to meet them. In a few minutes, my father was surprised yet again when the people who opened the door said: " Oh, uncle from the Tramtaria Land is here!" (Tramtaria Land means – a very distanced and rather non-existing country). He was warmly welcomed and met a lot of relatives and old friends. He realized that during all the 40 years that he pretended he did not need his family, he felt rather empty and had a strange feeling that he actually did not belong anywhere- neither to the Czechs, nor to the Roma. And although he rarely told anybody about his real origin, he could not forget and so felt like a person with two faces. Although he does not go to visit his family very often he knows they exist and feels like he belongs somewhere again.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Yveta Kenety, Chair of Athinganoi, an organization associating Roma high school and university students. Prague, the Czech Republic 2003.

Before and After in Azerbaijan

By Leyla Safarova

I wonder if people will ever be able to answer whether the idea of transition from the Soviet Union to the independent democratic Azerbaijan was good or bad. For me this transition did a lot of things. It gave me an enormous life experience that I think not everyone would've had; it taught me how to love life and respect people no matter how different they are from me; it showed me that not everything is everlasting; and it provided me with a lot of opportunities for choice. If somebody asked me if I wanted to live a different life, I would say no, but I know many people whose answer to this question would be "Yes". The thing some of them would change is the breaking down of the Soviet Union. So how was it before that and after?

In this story I want to tell about the memories I have, and the personal opinions that I derived from those memories. I do not say that these are exact facts; it is just the story of my life and my personal beliefs.

I liked living in the Soviet Union, even though I was very young then (the USSR broke down when I was 8 or 9 years old). I liked it because the adults who surrounded me were happy. They were happy because they believed in the future; they knew that their life was stable; and that the state would take care of them tomorrow. They did not have to think whether they would be able to buy food the next day, or whether they would be able to afford their older life. I do remember that my parents and other members of my family worked a lot, but they received the salary that gave them decent conditions of life.

People of different nationalities and religions lived happily together, and no matter what they say now, they were close friends, and you would never hear a humiliating comment about your nationality or other ethnic background. When I talk to my grandma or mom about how it was then, the only regret they have, was that there were never enough goods in the stores and long lines for the groceries. One time, though, my mom admitted that it was not possible to achieve the goals that you could achieve today.

I also remember how proud I was to be a citizen of the Soviet Union. I knew the whole anthem by heart, remembered all of the national heroes and proudly wore a pioneer tie (which was the symbol of a good student, a member of the Lenin's party and a citizen of the country). I still have my pioneer tie. I think the Soviet Union had a great ideological meaning – the strength in the unity of people of different nations. I was so young then, that I could not remember anything negative about it, even though the system was not ideal at all.

Then came the period of "transition" – the most frustrating period of my life. It started very slowly and

gradually tore apart beliefs. People stopped believing in their country and their future when the Moscow government started to harshly suppress people's thoughts. The neighboring Armenians, who used to live with us as one family, suddenly became very nationalistic and claimed the territory they had never had and were filled with hatred. Suddenly everybody started thinking about their national roots, which they did not need to think about before.

Why did people start acting like this? I think the poor economic situation, and the machinations of the upper levels of government started a very harsh and cruel conflict between two neighboring nations. Then these machinations grew into dislike that people started to believe in. I believe the motive for this behavior was economic - to keep the situation unstable in Caucasus. I came to this conclusion when I was much older, but at the time it was happening I couldn't understand anything.

I couldn't understand why the Armenian friends I had at school suddenly turned away from me, or the ones who didn't had to leave for somewhere far away. I couldn't understand why suddenly our little quiet town was full of tanks, military cars, and soldiers with guns, and why suddenly it became dangerous for us kids to go out and play. I couldn't understand how people could drive other people from their homes. Just then, groups of refugee people from Nagorniy Karabakh came into our town. Now they number 750,000.

I still remember a little refugee boy who came into our class: he wasn't dressed for the cold weather of the January and he had these big sad and scared eyes. I studied with him for a whole year, and never heard him speak. He reminded me of one of the characters in the books about World War II and I imagined him going through all of the war, which he actually did. I couldn't understand why my parents, my grandmother and my whole family suddenly became so worried. They seemed so unhappy to me. All the adults stopped smiling, the TV showed only meetings, strikes and military actions in Karabakh. A lot of people were killed during the war and on the 20th of January, when Soviet troops attacked Baku, trying to stop the independence movement.

The lines in the stores grew much bigger, and so many confusing things happened. This period in my mind coincides with darkness, confusion, and anger of people, war, and unhappiness. After so many wars people still cannot understand that it ruins so many lives. War stopped in 1994, but twenty percent of the territory was captured by Armenian military, which means that hundreds of thousands of refugees flew into big cities and small towns. Most of them had no place to live, so they settled in school buildings, the buildings that were not completely finished, train wagons, tents, communal buildings and other places where it would be possible to stay. The crime rate rose; I can't provide statistics, but I know that a lot of people from my surroundings were robbed right on the street. The stores didn't have enough food, and the goods that were there were so expensive that a lot of people couldn't afford them. Even though

VIEWPOINTS ON:

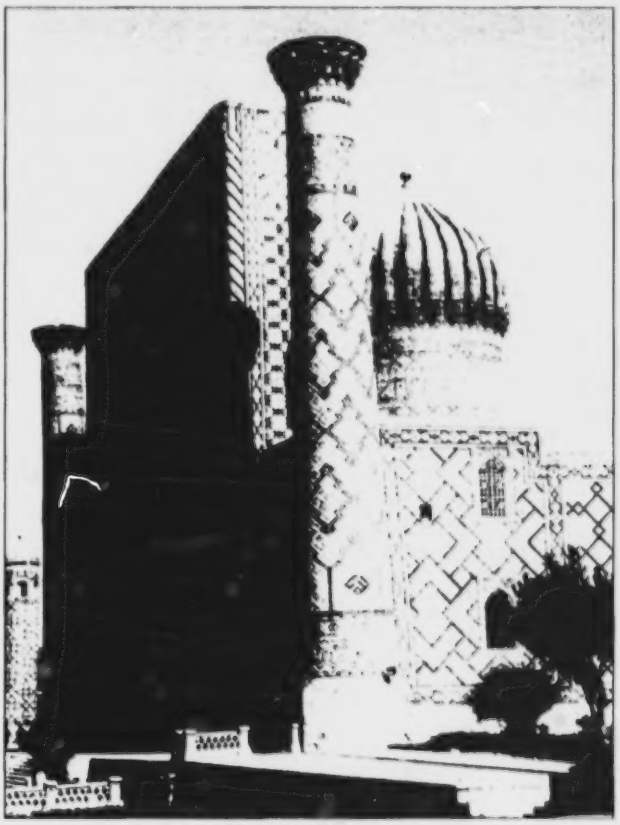
AZERBAIJAN

Everyone lived well in Soviet times. Everyone received free education. We had confidence in the future. At weekends everyone relaxed. But today everyone is just trying to find work. People live from hand to mouth. Before, young people had families earlier. But today's youth first think about where they will find work. And in the search for careers they end up emigrating.

-Mariam Teimurova, 63, pensioner

the government provided partial subsidies, there were still not enough goods for people. Sometimes my mom would have to go and stand in the line from 6 in the morning till late afternoon.

Eventually life in Azerbaijan improved. I am not sure when exactly it started for all of my memories were concentrated on the facts that happened before. But life got calmer, safer and peaceful. Most of that time, adults were still worried and very unhappy. If they had had stable life before, now these people were thrown into the stream of cruel life where they didn't know what would happen tomorrow. But the cruelest point was here that they didn't find themselves in the so-called prosperous democratic freedom society, they happened to be in chaos, where no one knew what to do.



Registan Square, Samarkand, Uzbekistan

Gradually the situation grew more and more stable. The government took some measures for stabilization, people got used to the new way of life, and some of them found new opportunities to earn money, some just emigrated. Life went on its own way. The shops got filled with a lot of new imported goods, which was very amusing for our people - now you could find anything that you want, but you would have to think where to get the money from. The new system gave a lot of opportunities that the youth wouldn't get before. It is possible now to find a good job, to study abroad, and to achieve wealth and fame, but only in case of really strong competitiveness or having good connections. It is possible to learn everything about the world, to make personal choices, and to live independently. Theoretically so many possibilities are open for people, but practically the poverty and corruption that followed it, skepticism and sometimes even pacifism makes people very passive and unenthusiastic about life choices, and it awakes the nostalgia about "past good Soviet time" in the older people.

On my side I like the system now, because it gave me so many opportunities, and as long as there are no wars and no people suffering, the system is good. But I think that it is necessary to teach people about the possibilities they have and to take a little bit of care of people, so they won't feel that they are in such irreparable situation of life.

I realized that now I believe in my country – the Republic of Azerbaijan, and I am sure so do many other Azeri people after all that we went through, and no matter what kind of difficult life most of them have.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Leyla Safarova, Baku, Azerbaijan, 2003

Power for the People or Power of the Authorities?

By P. Simonenko and V. Kurkow

For Westerners, Russia has always been a mystery. When the Soviet Union completely collapsed in 1991, it seemed that the victory of democracy in new Russia would help to transform the society in the shortest possible time. More than a decade has passed, however, and modern Russia is still facing a number of critical problems. Russian intellectuals are concerned about two questions: "Who is to blame?" and "What to do?" In this essay we will attempt to present our view of the main obstacles to the development of democracy in Russia.

First of all, it is essential to know what the Soviet Union used to represent as many of its values still have a considerable impact upon the development of modern Russia. The main characteristics of Soviet totalitarianism were the following:

Dominance of the communist ideology that penetrated all the spheres of the life of the society. Repression and rigid censorship were the basic means of home policy. There was a powerful repressive staff (army, special divisions, penitentiary institutions), which sought to destroy destruction, all opposition to the ruling regime.

Monopoly of power by one political party. In fact the USSR was a "party" country where there was no principal of separation of powers – the party bodies substituted for legislative, executive and judicial powers.

State control of economy – Instead of a market economy there was a planned economy that was characterized by dominance of state ownership (there was no private property), methods of economic exploitation (labor of convicts, soldiers, students, etc.), lack of competition (private business was illegal) and absence of unemployment.

Militarism. A huge military-industrial complex. The country literally lived following the principle "Guns instead of butter". Obligatory image of an enemy in foreign policy.

Non-observance of human rights at the same time the Soviet system guaranteed average subsistence wages, set of basic social guarantees (right on labor, free education, public health services, practically free dwelling, etc.) to loyal citizens.

The USSR as a federation of republics with equal rights really existed only on paper. In reality, the republics were under rigid, central command. Whole peoples were subjected to repression. Atheism was a component of state ideology. Spiritual life was characterized by double standard; people said one thing but thought differently. Officially the social structure of the Soviet society was very simple: there was the working class; the intellectuals and the kolkhoz (collective farm peasantry).

Evolution of basic values in Russia:

Purposes	till 1917	1917—1961	1961—1991	from 1991
Ideological	Orthodoxy	Marxism-Leninism	Marxism-Leninism	--
State	Autocracy	Dictatorship of the proletariat	The C.P.S.U. rule	Democracy
Civil	Homeland, national roots	Internationalism	Patriotism	Civil Rights
Public	--	Construction of socialism	Creation of the material and technical basis of Communism; improvement of public relations; creation of the new person	Formation of civil society

In reality starting from the period of Stalinism the social structure of the Soviet society was much more complicated and consisted of various layers with completely different social and political statuses:

Stalin

Politburo (Political Bureau)

Representatives of repressive agencies

Administrators of all ranks

Party organization men

Technical intellectuals

Workers of heavy industry

Humanitarian intellectuals

Workers of light industry and agriculture

Kolkhoz (collective-farm) peasantry "serfs"

Convicts (slave force)

Thus, despite the postulates of the communist ideology, the Soviet society did not become a society without human exploitation. This, together with the absence of political rights, inefficiency of the economic system, the arms race and other unsolved national problems has resulted in the collapse of socialism and the USSR.

Let's find out how the values of the Russian society have changed.

The table given above summarizes changes in the major values of Russians in four time periods: pre-October, 1917; during the construction of socialism (up to the peak of Khrutchev's "thaw"); in the epoch of the so-called "advanced socialism" (before its collapse); and in post-Soviet Russia.

We will give a general analysis of the condition of the three major problems submitted in the table of the basic values of new Russia:

1. Democracy.

Abraham Lincoln defined democracy as the rule of the people, which is carried out by the people and for the people. Thus, three elements are important for democracy: first of all, the people as a source of power, secondly, the people as the executor of power and thirdly, the people as the aim of power. On one hand, post-Communist Russia has made a huge step forward - its citizens received freedom of choice, democratic laws. However, social scientists in Russia describe the

current system as a "controlled democracy" meaning the exterior forms of democracy are observed but everything is decided behind "the curtains."

2. Civil Rights

The Constitution and legal system give Russian citizens the necessary political rights and freedoms to meet democratic standards. However, in Russia there has always been a gap between the law and its practical realization. In the 19th century a well-known Russian writer Saltykov-Tshedrin wrote that the severity of the Russian laws was softened by their optional execution. Legal nihilism was and still is one of essential problems in Russia - even reasonable laws are infringed both from the top and from the bottom, both by the authorities and the people. The results of a survey carried out in May 2002 by the All-Russia Center of Public Opinion shows that only one of every three Russians (35 %) feels secure. Thus, in new Russia something incredible is occurring - despite democratic reforms, a decentralized fear reigns in the society. In addition, there are economic fears connected with education, health services, and housing. Unemployment is a real threat.

All of these factors help to explain why devaluation of democratic values has recently occurred in Russia (in fact the words "democrat" and "democracy" become abusive), and there is a nostalgia for the totalitarian past, when rigid order and average, egalitarian cost of living were guaranteed. For example, during perestroika the Russian slang was enriched by the word "democratizator" – it became the name of a baton introduced to the armory of police. The paradox is that in the totalitarian USSR, batons were not used by law-enforcement agencies. It is sad to acknowledge, that many Russians connect deterioration of the living standards to democratic reforms in the country.

The survey on human rights carried out in Russia in the autumn of 2001 shows that an overwhelming majority of the population emphasized the importance of economic rights. The majority of the respondents considered it acceptable, that the government temporarily limits their rights in the name of certain "important" purposes, such as public order and security. Some Russians consider democracy as a concept imposed by the western civilization. The fact that Russia has lost its status as a great power is also extremely painful to many. The situation is aggravated by numerous national conflicts and frequently unreasoned discrimination policy of Western countries that, a matter of fact, is a recurrence of "cold war". All this together with socio-economic problems nourishes the development of intolerance, extremism and even fascism.

Special attention should be paid to the concepts homeland and patriotism. It is necessary to mention that only recently have Russians begun to differentiate the concepts "Homeland" and "State". It is essential to remember that mutual relations of man, individual and state in Russia for a long time developed only as unconditional submission of man (and society in general) to the state. And only recently establishment of institutes of civil society and new traditions of mutual relations of man and the state have begun in Russia.

3. Creation of civil society.

Civil society in Russia is only beginning to be formed. It will have to go a long and very difficult way to maturity. Its further development, success or failure of democratic reforms in Russia is directly connected with the condition of legal and political culture of Russian citizens. To sum it all up, it is necessary to mention that development of democracy, market reforms and the issue of modernization of Russia in general till now has created more questions than provided solutions.

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The Rivers I Crossed: A Russian Memory

By Yegor Ivanov

1. The Town of Love

I was born and grew up in Zabaykalye in a small gold-mining town called Lyubov. In Russian, Lyubov means Love - I always thought the best thing about my hometown was its name. It used to be quite a picturesque place with forest and mountains all around it. My family's house stands close to the woods, so I only had to jump over the fence to find myself in the wild. It was lovely in spring in Lyubov: all the mountains around the town became pink when bagulnik was in blossom; kids then would go up the mountains to eat its flowers – very sweet and soft. There are a few rivers not far from the place and many of the town's people including my twin brother would routinely go fishing. I hardly ever took a fishing stick in my hands: I preferred to stay on the shore enjoying the water and the sun - while there were no mosquitoes around! Many more adventurous Lyubovintsi including, again, my brother would hunt a lot too. My uncle would often make a nuisance of himself telling everybody a story of how he killed a bear right in front of his nose. Quite a few other guys could share their own stories about bears. I heard of several shatuns (hungry bears awake in winter) killed by Lyubov's folks inside their cowsheds, in their backyards, or on their way to work.

The gold-mining business used to be highly profitable in Lyubov. I remember my father, who worked as the main electricity engineer with the mine, bring home big salary bonuses for over fulfilling the designated work plan. It was also gold that provided the bulk of the jobs for the citizens of Lyubov - most of those who didn't go down underground with a jack hammer worked either at the gold refineries or at other places that serviced the industry: the saw mill, the machine shop, the auto park, the drag, and a few others. Many of the service industries would become patrons of every new high school class and try to do something for it: to take kids out to a picnic, to sponsor their trip to a reserve or a bigger city or to provide some of the school equipment. When I was in the first grade, our shef (patron) had a wooden flag-holder made for our class; the impressive wooden holder with dozens little red flags sticking out of it still amazes me with its uselessness.

The mine's administration tried to support the workers' children as well. For instance, each year they sponsored sending kids to the summer camp at a beautiful resort lake, Arahkley. I went to the camp three times — I really liked it there. One summer, my parents didn't want to (or couldn't — it didn't matter to me at that moment) let me go to the Arakhley so I didn't speak to them for almost a month, I think. I was so serious about it that they eventually had to yield. They couldn't keep me from traveling — one of the few things that I enjoy tremendously, no matter where or with whom. I once was excited about going with my

father to a nearby town; the trade-off was to sit still for the whole day inside of a boiler-room and watch my father repairing some electric gadgets. Going to Krasnoyarsk (a city in Siberia) to visit my mother's relatives was the highlight of my year. It was 80s — the economy was doing pretty well, so my parents could afford taking the whole family (me, my twin brother and elder sister) with them for a summer vacation. The summer of 1989 was the last time when we went to Krasnoyarsk together.

As a kid, I was pretty happy in Lyubov. I enjoyed most of the things that my peers would such as playing a "war game", building little dams at the streams, chasing each other in the woods and a million other things. When I was not with friends I could easily find for myself something to do. I would burn out pictures on the wooden plates, I would make fretwork frames, and I even tried to learn how to knit. Sometimes I did really funny things. Once in winter, for example, I drew a few pictures and clipped them on the trees in the woods. The pictures had a caption at the bottom saying "S Novim Godom!" – "Happy New Year!" - I cannot say now whom I meant those pictures for. Animals? People? It makes me smile right now to be writing about it.

I was also happy with the love my parents gave me. I keep hearing that typically, parents, often unwittingly, tend to be preferential towards their children. I didn't see that in my own life. On the contrary, at times I thought our parents were equal to us to the point of injustice. I remember being really angry with the way my mother would settle a conflict between me and my brother: even when it was my brother who was to blame for starting a fight, my mother would say "I'm not going to find out whose fault it is, you both are going to be punished properly!" Our father was less tough on us in punishment, in fact, he was a little too permissive, but we liked it. In most cases, we turned to him to ask him to do something for us; we knew if we asked he could hardly refuse to please us. For instance, when he came back home from work in summer, we would often ask him to take us to the river and even though he was usually very tired, he would still end up committing a few hours to drive us to the river to let us take a swim. I can think of thousands of other nice things our father did for us such as reading to us fairytales at nights, preparing elaborate costumes for the school's New Year masquerade, or building up incredibly fancy toys. I don't think many fathers do that for their kids.

However, as I was becoming older I liked Lyubov less and less. At 14, I simply disliked it; by 16, I hated it. Everything seemed to repel me after I realized I didn't want to live the kind of life people led in Lyubov. I couldn't understand how they could possibly put up with the emptiness and narrowness of their life, with the ugliness of their being. Old women sitting along the road on the benches and gossiping, my peers rushing through the town on their motor-bikes with ugly screams, our neighbors' quarrels and fights made me compare Lyubov to Twin Peaks: I felt its wicked atmosphere was making me sick. To keep away from people, I went out to the woods – alone or with my husky dog, Tori. After wandering around aimlessly for hours, I would find myself sitting on the edge of the mountain and speaking to... I don't know exactly what. With the view of the whole town before me, I kept saying, hoping I could be heard, "Hey, forest, mountains, flowers, trees, the sky, the rivers, I don't like it here, I don't want to stay here-please help me find a place where I would fit!"

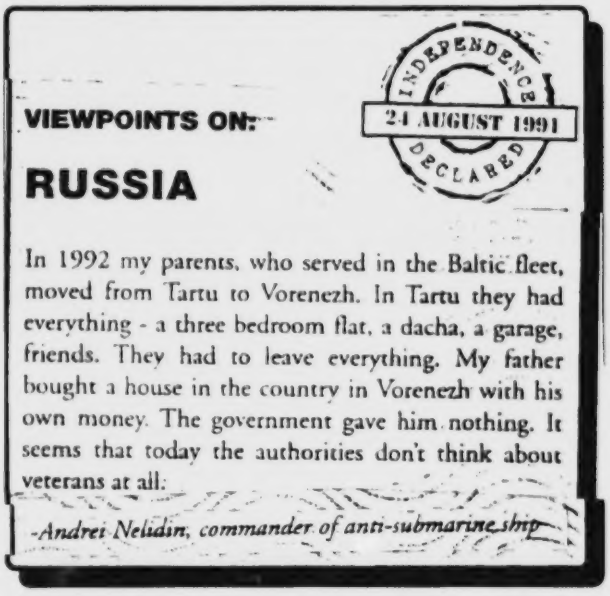
2. Fake Lomonosov

Starting to learn English was one of the ways I tried to keep my mind occupied. There is a popular school in Russia called The European School of Education by Correspondence (ESEC) offering a number of foreign language programs. The lessons can be received and paid for in small monthly parts, so my parents didn't really mind my new hobby. My mother did mind it later when my brother and I started preparing for the exams to enter a university. Since I didn't really know what I wanted to study my parents decided that a good option would be to

attempt to get into the Academy of Economics that, although being the most competitive in the Chita Oblast, was thought to be very prestigious and upscale, so I had to pay a lot of attention to Algebra and Geometry to do good at the entrance exams. So when, instead of working on mathematics, I took out a book with a new lesson of English, my mother would frown at me saying, "Stop wasting your time on crap and do what you should! Unless you prefer to go serving in the Army." My hobby, nevertheless, turned out to have played a key role in my life. After submitting my documents to the Academy of Economics, I was with my brother in the Technical University, I saw a poster on the wall advertising the university's new program, American Studies - with three entrance exams required: written and oral English and a written essay on Russian Literature. After I read the poster, I felt like some mechanism clicked inside me and told me it was exactly what I would like to go for. I happened to have duplicates of all necessary documents, so I didn't hesitate to hand them in to the people from the Admissions Committee.

I received "5" (the highest grade) for the first exam and felt as elevated as it gets. After the exam was over, I rushed out of the building feeling I was walking on air; when I was already some 10 minutes away, I realized I had forgotten my notebook on the desk. Having grabbed it hurriedly, I ran back home and nearly knocked down the professor of Chinese who was present at the exam and who was smoking outside. He started talking to me and suddenly asked me if I would like to transfer to the Chinese Studies program. He said that I might not be able to enter the American Studies because of the large number of applicants, but since he didn't want "to lose" me, he could try to squeeze me into his program. I said I would think about it, but never went to talk to him again: Chinese instead of English seemed to me an unlikely transition. I received "5" on the remaining two exams and couldn't believe it had been that easy to get the highest score results. I wrote a letter to my teacher from the ESEC with my appreciation of the work the school had done for me; I said that thanks to the school's high standards I entered a university's prestigious department without any difficulty.

Not until after two years of studies did I learn that my way into the American studies program had been much harder that I could have ever imagined the truth was that by the time I passed the entrance exams, my chances to be accepted were zero. In the first place, I hadn't attended the department's preparation courses. Secondly, I didn't have a gold medal that high school granted to its exceptionally well-performing students, which would entitle me to an interview instead of the three formal examinations. And, lastly, I hadn't been "connected" to somebody from the university's administration whose "hairy hand" would pull me through all the hardships of the selection process. The reason why I was accepted eventually was that the Professor of Chinese, who talked to me after the first exam (and who was also one of the founders of the Department of International Studies) went to the Department's Dean and got him to make an exception and allow one more seat for the American Studies program — in order to accept me! It looks like it has been a wave of my destiny that mysteriously picked me up and pushed


INDEPENDENCE
24 AUGUST 1991
DECLARED
VIEWPOINTS ON:
RUSSIA
In 1992 my parents, who served in the Baltic fleet, moved from Tartu to Vorenezh. In Tartu they had everything - a three bedroom flat, a dacha, a garage, friends. They had to leave everything. My father bought a house in the country in Vorenezh with his own money. The government gave him nothing. It seems that today the authorities don't think about veterans at all.
-Andrei Nelidin, commander of anti-submarine ship

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me in the right direction – to make sure I would make it to the program…

After I heard of the nickname I had gotten from those who were examining me – Lomonosov – I could be certain, it must have been really some powers from above that charmed the pundits. I felt I was an absolute opposite of Lomonosov: I was too lazy (that prevented me from doing all home tasks in time), too disorganized and absent-minded (that kept me uncertain about which class I was going to because I couldn't remember the schedule), and simply way too mediocre to be juxtaposed with the titan of Russia's science and culture. Naturally, I turned out to be sort of disappointment for those who singled me out at the exams. I wasn't TOO bad, though. After retaking two tests in Chinese for which I received "3" in previous years, and after the cumbersome process of writing a thesis, I, to my own surprise, ended up with a diploma with honors on my hands.

3. The Ring (Not a War Story!)

Moving to Chita for five years of studies was very exciting for me. It meant that I would see and live in a large city, meet new people, and would be doing what was interesting to me. The advantages of relocation to a bigger place and doing new things served to surpass the difficulties I was encountering in Chita. Now that I recollect things, it strikes me to realize how much effort it took our parents to allow us to get a higher education. It was extremely difficult for them to support us, three students studying in different cities: my brother and I took classes at the Technical University, our sister had moved to Ulan-Ude, the capital of the Buryat Autonomous Region, a year earlier to study the "technologies of apparel production". By the time my brother and I entered the university, the economic crisis in Russia was in full swing making it much worse for our parents to help us: wages wouldn't be paid for several months and when my parents did eventually receive the little that was due to them, the inflation had already been devaluating it significantly.

It was a time of looking for a couple of roubles to pay the bus fare to get to the university and back (when we could no longer forge the monthly passes), wearing old clothes, and hand copying the study materials instead of paying for a Xerox copy. What helped a lot was that my brother and I didn't have to buy most of the food we ate - our parents were sending it to us from Lyubov. To send us more, my mother finally got father to buy a cow — he never wanted to do that. Our mother also surprised us all with having learned how to prepare canned salads for winter - she was always pretty bad at cooking.

To send us things wasn't always easy either. What my parents did was ask the mine's drivers who would travel routinely from Lyubov to Chita and back to take a bag or two with them. As the mine was gradually closing up and fewer drivers were going to Chita, "the food stream" from home was diminishing and we had to think of how to make the leftovers last longest. At some points, (it sounds like a war story or something!), we had hardly anything to eat. The soup made of rice and water without even salt is probably a delicacy I will never want to try again.

I was very lucky to get a part-time job in Chita. It wasn't common at all for Russian students to work while in college (to a large extent it is still the case): the service industry, where most American students work, was hardly developed; studies would take most of the time. Where I did get the job was at the kiosk that sold music records; it was partly a night job: I came in at 8 p.m., worked a few hours, then slept inside of the kiosk till 6 a.m. and worked a few hours more before going to the university.

I think the winter of 1996 was the worst. My parents drove to Chita to bring us food for a few months so that they didn't have to ask anybody to take the bags for us. They couldn't give us money. When they were leaving, my mother took off her gold wedding ring and handed it to me saying, "Sell it when you need money. You cannot quit

university." I'm glad I didn't take the ring. And I'm glad the winters that followed were not that bad.

4. Young Leader 2001

Oh, my frail dinghy
In the sea of darkness
Less than hope discernible...

I was very afraid of graduating from the university. Leaving school meant I had to start a life of my own — to make decisions about what I would do from then on, to pick up priorities, to set my life in a certain way. I didn't feel I was ready for that. With all the things I left behind, with everything I learned and accepted, after all difficulties I encountered, I, in my 22 years, didn't come to something I needed very much: the inner integrity, a pivot within myself that would make me feel stable and strong no matter how lonely I would be or how tough a situation I would find myself in — something that would keep me confident in myself. That's why, when I was filling out an application to participate in the Young Leaders exchange program, one of the reasons why I wanted to become a finalist of the program so much was my hope to get a "waiver" from taking charge of my life. I thought a year abroad would help me understand myself better and give me a real SENSE of life. The Buryats, an indigenous people in Siberia, have a proverb saying, "The more rivers you cross, the wiser you become" — I thought the trip to America might be a good test of Buryat wisdom.

However, I don't feel I have changed too much since crossing the ocean last August. I do think. I have become more mature and experienced, I have learned many things, and, which is most important, could be and act myself- for the first time in my life. But I don't feel I have really found what I was looking for. My future still frightens me with its uncertainty and complexity, with its decisions to make. I see my life like a dark river with me too scared to rule the flow. I can hardly help it; I can only keep moving hoping that someday my life will become a more fathomable world in which I will travel freely.

New York, July 2002

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Yegor Ivanov graduated from the Department of International Studies at Chita State Technical University, specializing in American studies and English and was selected for the Russian-US Young Leadership Fellows for Public Service Program (YLF). He was chosen for this prestigious program from a multitude of Russian applicants, thanks to his demonstrated leadership skills and interest in public service.

At his host institution, Oklahoma State University, he took courses in American studies, international relations, and recreation management, and volunteered at the Volunteer Center of the University of Oklahoma. After completing 20 hours of formal training, Yegor attended mediation sessions to attain his certification in "Mediation for the Early Settlement," and was sworn in as a mediator in Oklahoma's Supreme Court

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Transitions: Travel Before and After

By Dana Rabinakova

It seems to me that it happened so long ago. But it was only twelve years ago. Nowadays, whenever, I travel outside my country and my car comes to our state borders, I am reminded of the very strict and unpleasant procedures which all Czech travelers had to experience before 1991.

Time has gone by so very quickly, and my own children cannot understand the ordeal of traveling to another country that was our reality for 40 years. We couldn't go abroad when we wanted. It was a terribly difficult procedure before we got official permission to travel, and only a small percentage of requests were granted. You had to get many different rubber stamps from various institutions. The most difficult and demeaning was a report of "street confidante" (someone who reported all important information to Secret Police officers). For example, a "good" reason this "specialist" would not give you a good report was that your family didn't put a flag at your apartment windows on a day of state celebration of communist changeover (each February 25th).

To travel to the West (other parts of Europe or USA) was almost impossible. The procedure was very difficult and took more than 5 months. Travel to Eastern countries (Socialist Republics) wasn't as complicated and people often traveled there shopping for products which you could not buy in our country. For example, for jeans or sweaters you had to go to Hungary; for technical instruments like cameras, or for shoes, you had to go to East Germany; for furniture to Poland and so on.

I still have a recurring bad dream. In this dream I'm standing on our state borders and I'm not able to go over the border because of the custom officer's procedure. And always I wake up shocked and frustrated. Thank heavens; it's only a bad dream! That's the reason why I can now enjoy all my travel—to anywhere, for journeys over our borders. Always now, I feel how powerful is freedom!

Dana Rabinakova, The Czech Republic, 2002

SECTION TWO LESSONS

VOICES OF TRANSITION

Comparative Democracies	Middle school
Constructing a Life	Middle school/secondary
Evaluating Personal Freedom	Secondary school
Historical Timelines	Secondary school
Preserving Ethnic Languages	Secondary school
Why Does a Person Need Citizenship?	Secondary school
Lawful State in Russia	Secondary school
Reforms in the Society	Secondary school

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Comparative Democracies

Introduction

This lesson is designed to answer the question, "Are all democracies the same?" It is important for students understand that democracies can take different forms and that people/nations select "types" of democracies based upon multiple factors.

Approximate Length

2 class periods

Grade Level

Middle School

National Standards

National Standards for Civics and Government—How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society? What is the impact of the concept of democracy and individual rights on the world? Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the impact of American political ideas on the world.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- define and identify two different types of democracies.
- analyze strengths and weakness of structures of two different types of democracies

Essential Resources

- Handout 1 - Definition sheet for parliamentary and presidential democracies
- Blank paper and colored pencils

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Pair students and distribute handout. Direct students to read definitions and develop a brief chart that summarizes the types of democracies.

2 Discuss the potential benefits and drawbacks of each type of democracy.

3 Based upon preceding lessons, select 3 countries and identify the type of democracy.

4 Discuss the following: "What are the reasons why a country selects one type of democratic government over another?"

5 Why have some nations selected a parliamentary democracy rather than a presidential democracy? (Include a discussion of colonization, economics, and geography)

APPLICATION

Working with a partner, create a political cartoon to persuade your readers that one type of democracy is better than another. (You can use real life examples to support your idea.) After you have developed the cartoon, write a short paragraph to your editor explaining and justifying your cartoon.

ASSESSMENT

- Participation in classroom discussion
- Political Cartoon and justification paragraph

ADAPTATION/EXTENSIONS

Post country description on the wall in various parts of the room and then ask each pair to analyze the type of government in several countries, sharing answers with the larger group.

HANDOUT 1

TYPES OF DEMOCRACIES

PARLIAMENTARY:

A parliamentary democracy includes an elected assembly or parliament whose members make decisions, pass laws, and supervise spending of public funds. Parliaments also act as a sort of 'middleman' between ordinary citizens and the government. The government is accountable to the parliament, which, in turn, implicitly represents the views of the people who elected them.

In a parliamentary democracy, the top officials are known as ministers. The ministers make up an executive body that is called the cabinet Ministers can also be members of parliament, and so they carry out legislative or law- making functions as well. Both the government and the cabinet functions under the control of the parliament as a whole and remains in power only as long as it has the support of a majority of the members of parliament.

In most countries with parliamentary government the chief executive is called the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is the leader of the largest party in parliament or of a coalition. A coalition is a temporary joining of parties that together have a majority of seats. The Prime Minister is not elected by voters but is nominated by the majority party and then formally administered the oath of office by the official head of state that may be the king or queen of a monarchy or the president of a republic. In most parliamentary governments, the Prime Minister selects his or her ministers. The United Kingdom is an example of a parliamentary democracy.

PRESIDENTIAL:

In a presidential democracy, the chief executive participates far more directly in the decision-making and can exercise a considerable degree of power. In the parliamentary system, the head of government and the head of state are two different persons. For instance, the Prime Minister is the head of the government and the king is the head of state. Today, the duties of the head of state have often been reduced to purely ceremonial duties, or merely to perform official appointments. In contrast, most presidents carry the responsibility and authority of both head of government and state.

The forms of presidential government vary, but in many countries, including the USA and France, the president is elected separately from, and independent of, the legislative branch. He or she is commonly elected for a fixed term - often four years - while the Prime Minister of a parliamentary government has to resign if the parliament does not support the government's policies and calls for a vote of "no confidence."

Source: http://www.pbs.org/newshour/extra//features/jan-juneOO/dtypesofdemocracies.html

DIRECTIONS:

- Working with a partner, read and discuss each of these definitions. Develop a brief chart, which summarizes the types of democracies.
- List at least two potential benefits and two drawbacks for each type of democracy.

Constructing a Life

Introduction

As a culminating experience for students who have studied the transition from the State domination of the Soviet Union, to the relative freedom of independence after 1990, the students might be asked to "construct" a life of an imaginary person in one of the newly emerging democracies who have made the transition. This construction should clearly indicate the political, social, economic and individualistic aspects of the transitional period.

Approximate Length

2 class periods

Grade Level:

Middle School/Secondary

National Standards

National Standards for Civics and Government—How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society? What is the impact of the concept of democracy and individual rights on the world? Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the impact of American political ideas on the world.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- clearly describe the circumstances of the transition from a state dominated society to one of relative freedom.
- evaluate the conditions from 1990 to the present in East Europe and Central Asia.
- demonstrate a comprehension of the political, economic, social/cultural forces which were operating pre-1990 to the present day.

Essential Resources

- Articles from the "Voices in Transition" section.

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 The students will select one of the NIS, and create a fully developed "person"—family life, occupation, social life, economic condition, cultural persona (religion, recreational life, interests), and the limitations on that life as it would be represented pre 1990 and into transition and into present conditions.

2 Students will share their biographies and receive critique from the class as to the accuracy of the portrayal. They will then have the opportunity to modify or change their biography before a final submission. Students should be encouraged to utilize a multi-media approach.

ASSESSMENT

- Accuracy of historical record.
- Realistic portrayal of a "life."

Evaluating Personal Freedom

Introduction

This lesson is designed to provide students with a better perspective on the meaning of "personal freedom" as it may exist among the various peoples of the world, using the examples from East Europe and Central Asia.

Approximate Length

1 class periods

Grade Level

Middle School/Secondary

National Standards

National Standards for Civics and Government—How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society? What is the impact of the concept of democracy and individual rights on the world? Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the impact of American political ideas on the world.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- compare the relative merits of freedom and non-freedom.
- analyze the meaning of democracy in their own lives.
- evaluate the reaction to a new form of government in the NIS.

Essential Resources

- Articles from the "Voices in Transition" section.

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Students will be instructed to write a five-minute composition on "What freedom means to me" (or an equivalent topic). This may also be done through a brainstorming activity.

2 In open discussion, the students will share their thoughts—and the teacher will keep a record of responses on chalkboard or overhead. All may request a clarification of any questionable points.

3 In small groups the students will examine the "Voices of Transition" articles, and using the following guiding questions, evaluate the meaning of freedom to these representatives of the transitional period of East European and Central Asian history (pre and post 1990).

- How do these people perceive freedom, personally and generally?
- What "measuring stick" do they use?
- Is freedom always considered to be useful and advantageous?
- Given the statements, which the students made previously, how do these statements compare? How do you account for differences?

ASSESSMENT

Students will write a five-minute composition on how the study of the "Voices of Transition" have modified or changed their vision of freedom.

Historical Timelines

Introduction

This lesson will enable students to develop an historical perspective on how democracy has developed in two nations. This teaching strategy can be easily adapted to any country.

Approximate Length

1-2 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

National Standards

National Civics Standards: How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society? What is the impact of the American concept of democracy and individual rights on the world?

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- Develop an historical perspective on how democracy has developed in two nations: the Czech Republic and the United States.
- Evaluate democracy as a developmental concept.

Essential Resources

- Events Cards (To prepare the "Events Cards" you will need a pack of index cards. On each index card, write a separate fact from the Czech Republic timeline and do the same for the US timeline); world map

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 **Opening the Lesson:** Introduce the idea of historical timelines to students. Tell them that they will be making timelines for the United States and for the Czech Republic. Point out that both of these are democratic nations and that their histories tell the story of how the people of these nations created and sustained democracy.

Use world maps and pictures to familiarize students with the location of the Czech Republic. Compare with the US geographically and culturally.

2 **Developing the Lesson**

A. Constructing USA Timeline

• Give each student one "USA Events Card." Tell students to place themselves along the timeline according to when their event took place. Most classes will probably have more students than there are events identified here. Have students with the same event on their card work together to decide where it comes on the timeline and group themselves at that point.

• Once all students are in place, have them examine the timeline they have formed. Is everyone in the right place? Or, if not, decide who should move where. When the order is established, challenge students to give the exact date/s of the events. Once the students are satisfied with their dating, either (a) provide resource material for students to check the dates, or (b) compare them with the dates on your list and have them make necessary adjustments. [Note that the timeline actually starts before the United States of America was established as a nation.]

• Attach the cards, with the dates written on them, to the correct location below the timeline. Label this timeline: The United States Builds Its Democracy.

• Form small groups and assign one event to each group to research. They should be prepared to teach their classmates about this event describing what it was, why it happened, where it happened, who was involved. Most importantly, they should discuss and be prepared to say if this event helped or hampered our democracy and in what ways.

• Extension for citizenship development: Have students study one event that helped our democracy and learn what individuals and groups were involved in making this event happen. Who were the leaders? What did "ordinary" citizens do? What kinds of citizenship skills did people exercise?

B. Constructing Czech Republic Timeline

Assuming your students are not as familiar with the history of the Czech Republic as they are of the USA, you will want to provide them background material to use in developing this timeline. See Resources list at end of lesson.

• Give each student one "Czech Republic Events Card." Tell students to place themselves along the timeline according to when their event took place. Most classes will probably have more students than there are events identified here. Have students with the same event on their card work together to decide where it comes on the timeline and group them selves at that point

• Once all students are in place, have them examine the timeline they have formed. Is everyone in the right place? Or if not, decide who should

move where. When the order is established, challenge students to give the exact date/s of the events. Once the students are satisfied with their dating, either (a) provide resource material for students to check the dates or (b) compare them with the dates on your list and have them make necessary adjustments. [Note that the timeline starts well before the Czech Republic was established as a nation. It was part of Czechoslovakia prior to the 1993 and had other names in the past.]

• Attach the cards, with the dates written on them to the correct location below the timeline and the USA events. Label the beginning of this timeline: The Czech Republic Builds Its Democracy.

• Form small groups and assign one event to each group to research. They should be prepared to teach their classmates about this event providing such information as describing what it was, why it happened, where it happened, who was involved. Most importantly, they should discuss and be prepared to say if this event helped or hampered democracy in the Czech Republic and in what ways.

• Extension for citizenship development: Have students study one event that helped democracy in the Czech Republic and learn what individuals and groups were involved in making this event happen. Who were the leaders? What did "ordinary" citizens do? What kinds of citizenship skills did people exercise?

C. Comparing the USA and Czech Republic

Challenge students to:

- Find events in each nation's histories that are similar. Examine how they are alike and how different (For example, US independence in 1776; and Czech independence in 1918.)
- identify events in each nation's history that probably were set-backs or hampered democracy
- identify events in each nation's history that promoted democracy
- analyze how events could be both good and bad with the outcome dependent on how people reacted to them and what they did
- analyze destructive and constructive events to identify what kinds of events are good for democracy and what are not good for democracy

3 **Closing the Lesson:** Have the students extend the time line for the USA and for the Czech Republic by adding 3 events that they hope will happen in each nation. Challenge them to write a short essay accompanying their timelines explaining why they chose these events and what citizen action is needed to make these events happen.

ASSESSMENT

There are many opportunities for authentic assessment throughout this lesson including observations of the students' capacity to identify events and form accurate timelines. The closing essay provides an excellent opportunity to assess higher order learning. Additionally, teachers who want to test for retention could remove the events cards from the timeline and challenge students to generate the lists of events and reconstruct the timelines.

ADAPTATION/EXTENSIONS

This lesson can be the beginning of a cultural exchange with a classroom in the Czech Republic Using the Internet, students in a Czech classroom can generate and send a list of Czech events to US students and the US classroom can reciprocate. Following through with the lesson, the Closing would have US students focusing on future US events and Czech students focusing on future Czech events-followed by an exchange of results.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

A Concise Historical Atlas of Eastern Europe, Dennis P. Hupchick and Harold E. Cox. Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. Small paperback, good maps, very accessible.

Culture Grams

Produced by Brigham Young University. 4-6 page overviews of countries. Gives a little information on many aspects of the society, "customs and courtesies, lifestyle", etc. Good introductory piece. Available as single country or sets; schools/libraries can subscribe for annual updates. Available on-line at www.culture grams.com

Global Studies: Russia, the Eurasian Republics, and Central/Eastern Europe , Minton Goldman. Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, nineth edition, 2003. Features (1) "country reports" which provide general background information on countries and overview of current issues facing the country and (2) articles from the world press focusing on selected topics. http://www.dushkin.com .

Historical Atlas of East Central Europe, Paul Robert Magocsi. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993. An oversized, hardcover atlas. A new edition is scheduled soon.

The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History, Derek Sayer. Princeton University Press, 1998. The title is taken from Shakespeare's The Winter's Tale; it serves as a metaphor for the West's frequent ignorance and often tragic indifference to this landlocked nation in the center of Europe. Sayer clarifies and contextualizes social movements in the Czech lands from before the Hussites to the modern period, but the reader learns late in the book that his passion owes something to his father-in-law, a professor lost to the world when he was removed by the Nazis as they closed the universities in Czechoslovakia in the 40s. An excellent read.

Out of the Red: Building Capitalism and Democracy in Postcommunist Europe, Mitchell Orenstein, University of Michigan Press, July 2001. This book provides a critique of neoliberal strategies implemented in Poland and the Czech Republic emphasizing the role of democratic change in policy reform. It paints a clear picture of the policy making process in these two post-communist countries and does not characterize either country as good or bad. The book is well written and provides a clear and comprehensive analysis of what has happened in these transition countries over the past ten years.

HANDOUT 1

CZECH REPUBLIC TIMELINE*

894	Latin alphabet adopted
1342-78	"Golden Age"—under rule of Charles IV
1378-1419	Wenceslas IV reigns as king
1526-1867	Ruled by the Hapsburgs
1867-1918	Ruled by dual monarchy of Austro-Hungarian Empire
1918	Czechoslovak Republic (Czechoslovakia) established with Thomas Masaryk as first President
1920	Czechoslovak Constitution establishes parliamentary democracy
1938-39	The Second Republic—democratic political system
1939-44	German occupation/appeasement
1944	Soviet "liberation" and occupation
1945-48	The Third Republic—a multi-party socialist democracy
1948	Communist takeover completed without revolution
1989	"Velvet Revolution" - fall of communism
1992	The Constitution of the Czech Republic ratified
1993	"Velvet Divorce"—(January 1) Czech Republic and Slovakia established from former Czechoslovakia; Constitution of Czech Republic goes into effect

*Includes events prior to establishment of the Republic; selected events, not necessarily most important.

HANDOUT 2

UNITED STATES of AMERICA TIMELINE*

200s	Maya using hieroglyphic writing
1492	Christopher Columbus lands in the Americas
1620	Pilgrims land at Plymouth
1776	Declaration of Independence (from Britain) is signed
1775-1783	Revolutionary War
1788	U. S. Constitution ratified
1791	Bill of Rights is ratified
1861-65	Civil War
1865	Slavery abolished 13th Amendment
1920	Women achieve right to vote – 19th Amendment
1917-18	U. S. A. in World War I
1941-45	U. S. A. in World War II
1945	United Nations established (U. S. A. member)
1963	President Kennedy is assassinated
1964	Civil Rights Act passes
1965- 73	U. S. A. in Viet Nam War
1999	George W. Bush declared president after dispute over ballots in the State of Florida

*Includes events prior to establishment of the United States of America; selected events not necessarily most important.

Preserving Ethnic Languages
Case Study-Estonia

Introduction

This lesson is about preserving ethnic languages despite the current trends towards globalization. Estonia's struggle to maintain a national identity is used as a case study. This lesson should come after a brief overview of Estonia's modern history, with a concentration on its forcible annexation by the Soviet Union and its recent independence. Focus on the fact that the Soviet Union attempted to erase all traces of Estonian nationalism and culture. It is assumed that students have had an introduction to the European Union prior to this lesson.

Approximate Length

2-3 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

National Standards

National Civics Standards—Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the effects of significant international political, economic, technological, and cultural developments in the United States and other nations.

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Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- compare and contrast the concepts of pluralism and assimilation.
- analyze the permeation of English into the Global society.
- discuss the extinction of language and its impact on culture.

Essential Resources

- The teacher has the option of going to the websites recommended below, and either reproducing them for the students, or having the students go to the websites as part of the lesson's outcomes.
- Key terms: multilingualism, pluralism, assimilation, dialect, ethnocentrism, multiculturalism, national minority, nationalism, xenophobia

TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Conduct a large group discussion on "Pluralism v. Assimilation" in America citing past waves of immigration.

Is America a Melting Pot?

http://www.pbs.org/fmc/timeline/emeltpot.htm

http://www.vdare.com/fulford/melting_pot_play.htm

http://www.reason.com/9702/fe.salins.shtml

http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/longterm/meltingpot/melt0222.htm

2 Provide a brief introduction to Estonian history, mentioning Estonia's strong cultural heritage and its contemporary focus on preserving the Estonian language.

3 How does Estonia ensure their language survives despite the current trend towards Globalization?

- *See Language Act 1995 & Law on Citizenship 1995* (http://www.eki.ee/keel/langact.html)

For example, government documents are printed in Estonian; businesses and court proceedings shall be conducted in Estonian. In instances where Estonian is not the ethnic or predominant language, the native language will supplement Estonian. Applicant must be able to communicate in Estonian to become a naturalized citizen.

- Estonia-wide Web (Estonian language-based to combat infiltration of English web sites from English-dominant internet)
- Must display adequate knowledge of Estonian language in order to graduate high school.

4 How does Estonia support cultural diversity and survival of culture and languages of Estonia's minorities?

See Law on Cultural Autonomy for National Minorities in Estonia of 1993 (http://www.riga.lv/minelres/NationalLegislation/Estonia/Estonia_KultAut_English.htm); Law on Citizenship of 1995 (http://www.uta.edu/cpsees/estoncit.htm) and Language Act of 1995 (http://www.eki.ee/keel/langact.html)

National minorities are:

- Distinct from Estonians ethnically, religiously, culturally, or linguistically.
- Motivated by a concern to preserve their cultural traditions, their religion, or their language which constitute the basis of their common identity.
- Have a membership of more than 3,000 people (i.e. Russians, German, Swedes, Latvians, Jews)

5 **Guiding Questions:**

What is the goal of Estonian language policy?

Will Estonia's social policies yield a "Melting Pot"?

6 **Small Group Discussion.** Have students break into small groups to discuss why it might be important for a culture to preserve its native language.

Is Estonia on the right path?

Should Estonia adjust their language policy?

7 **Creative Writing Assignment**. You are a doctor in the Emergency Room of Linguistic General Hospital. A dying language is brought in during your shift and it looks as though it's not going to make it. It is your job to save this language from dying. What are this language's symptoms? How do you intend on saving this language?

Concluding the Lesson

What is the goal of Estonian language policy?

It may be summarized this way: To achieve a stable, multicultural society with one official language but many native languages.

[See *Integration Framework*, 26 September 2002—http://www.vm.ee/estonia/kat 172/2866.html—"One of the main priorities of the state integration programme [in Estonia] is to teach the state language while at the same time creating opportunities for the different ethnic groups to learn their mother tongues. . .The Estonian government wishes to. . . create a balanced multicultural society. . ."]

Is Estonia a "Melting Pot"? Use document-based evidence to prove your position.

ASSESSMENT

Group participation and contribution, creative writing assignment, journal entries, traditional exam.

ADDITIONAL SUGGESTIONS

Instructor may wish to devise an activity in which students learn how to say "HELLO" in a number of endangered languages; an exercise in preserving the language on a small scale. Oral and written languages can be examined. Instructor may wish to have students research Estonia's epic poetry.

- See how Estonia has responded to the European Union's policy of protecting and promoting the rights of minorities.
- See Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union, European Commission for the Protection of Human rights and Fundamental Freedoms
  http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/human_rights/rm/index.htm
- See New Language Law adopted June 15, 2002 by Estonian Parliament
  http://europa.eu.int/comm/external_relations/news/06_00/ip_00_626.htm
- See Changes in Language Regulation in 1999-2001
  http://www.eumap.org/articles/content/40/402/index_html?print=1

BACKGROUND RESOURCES (FOR TEACHERS)

(Web sites Current as of April 7, 2003)

Crystal, David, "Vanishing Languages," in *Civilization* Vol. 4 (February/March 1997): 40-45.

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EU Commission Announces Estonian Response

http://www.eumap.org/articles/content/40/402/index_html?print=1
Changes in Language Regulation in 1999-2001

Adapted from original lesson created by Evelyn Handler and Samantha Stolberg,
Lake View High School, Chicago, IL
DEEP Project, Courtesy of the Constitutional Rights Foundation, Chicago, IL

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Why Does A Person Need Citizenship?

Introduction

This lesson was written by a Russian teacher and explores several concepts of citizenship from a Russian point of view: citizenship as mutual responsibility of the citizen and state and the legal consequences of the rejection of citizenship. The basic notions of this lesson deal with citizenship, the rights of a citizen of the Russian Federation and the mutual responsibility of the state and citizen. American teachers might want to have their students design parallel US Constitutional or governmental comparisons, e.g. the "lawful state" in Russia, and the Constitutional guarantees of citizen security in the United States. Another approach would be to do a comparative analysis of the respective Constitutions of Russia and other East European or Central Asian nations.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- analyze newspaper articles
- compare points of view.
- participate in an organized discussion.

Essential Resources

- Student Handout A - "I Don't Need Such A State."

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 The main content of the lesson is based on the analysis of Student Handout A "I Don't Need Such a State." Beginning the lesson the teacher states that newspaper articles give food for the reflection on the essence of citizenship. They mirror interesting and actual problems and situations in the society. One of such articles is offered to students' attention. It deals with an extraordinary event from the point of view of the law and everyday life—free-will rejection of the Russian citizenship. The task of the lesson is to discuss the problems mentioned in the article.

2 Discussion of the contents of the article. When coming to this stage of the lesson we recommend introducing your students to the rules of holding an organized discussion. They can be given as a visual aid and displayed in the classroom. The discussion is based on the basic principles of "improvised debates." The goal of the debates is to have mutual desire of both sides (groups) to convince the opponents in the correctness of their position.

3 The class is divided into 2 groups. The first group must prove that the character was right in her choice and give their arguments for that. The second group takes the contrary position. They disagree with Gruzdeva's choice and give their arguments against it describing negative consequences of this step. The groups formulate arguments for their opinion (about 5 - 7 arguments). Then each group gives an argument; the other group disproves it and gives its counter-argument and so on:

All the participants sum up the results of the discussion. They take into consideration which group gave the most weighty and demonstrative arguments. Besides the teacher can evaluate the most active group-members and speakers. For this purpose it would be advisable at the beginning of the discussion to form a group of 3 students who will follow the course of the debates, write down all the arguments and determine the most active students.

4 For homework the teacher can ask the students to write a short essay "Why does a person need citizenship?"

Concepts:

Citizenship - steady legal connection of a person with a state expressed in the complex of their mutual duties and responsibilities.

Citizen of the Russian Federation - a person who is admitted to the citizenship of the Russian Federation, has all the rights and duties provided by the Constitution of the Russian Federation and is under the protection of the Russian state

Person without citizenship - a person who does not belong to the citizenship of the Russian Federation and has no evidence of belonging to the citizenship of any other state.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

I Don't Need Such A State

[Nezavisimaya Gazeta, #1, February, 1998]

An inhabitant of Vologda city and four of her children have voluntarily decided to give up their Russian citizenship.

Almost two years ago a mother of five children, Olga Gruzdeva, submitted an application addressed to the president of Russian Federation with the request to rescind her Russian citizenship. Now her petition has been granted.

"As you can see, the decision was made after a long investigation. We contacted Olga, and conversed with her," the representative of the president in Vologda region Alexey Titov said. "There are 8,800 families in Vologda who each have as many children as Gruzdeva, in our region, and all of them do not live better than the family of Gruzdeva. All of them also do not always receive their children's welfare payments on time." [The government believes that this is the cause of Olga Gruzdeva's dissatisfaction.]

However, for Olga Gruzdeva there was another much more important reason. She says that her decision was motivated by the fact that she does not want to be a citizen of a state, which not only does not carry out its obligations to its citizens, but also entirely denies the rights of the citizens. "Look," said Olga in an interview, "the hourly salary I have earned is not paid. I am not speaking about the children's grants, or performance of the decree of the president to help the plight of large families. Because he (she) cannot collect the rightful salary, a man (or woman) must stand humiliated before the state with out-stretched hand pleading for help. I need not such state!"

The application of Olga Gruzdeva in Vologda has been considered suspiciously. Someone suggested that she was abnormal—not right in the head; others that poverty had driven her to despair and made her a crazy woman. However, when I interviewed her and got acquainted with Olga, she gave me the impression of a cheerful and thoughtful woman. She lives at the center of Vologda city, in a four-room apartment, where furniture is at a minimum, and repairs to the apartment need to be made. But money is not available for making life more livable for her and her five children (the oldest one is 24, the youngest, 11. Olga has divorced her husband, but because of the housing shortage, as well as little income, they are still living together. Speaking of her husband Olga commented, "Sergey always helped me with the housekeeping and with the children." A carriage-building factory recently hired Olga's husband. But he must wait, like Olga and others, for his salary to be paid—and it has been several months. When asked about his former wife's decision to renounce her citizenship, he declared that it was her private decision.

Olga Gruzdeva is an educated person, once a teacher of psychology. On the walls there are bookshelves with the books of modern authors. She organized a kindergarten for the apartment families, and organized, a club for the families having many children, but her services were eventually terminated. She now washes floors. "It is well that we

STUDENT HANDOUT A

have farm land near the apartment, and each year we dig 30 buckets of potatoes, onions and carrots, and that absolutely keeps us from dying of starvation. And with what little money we have we buy such items as washing powder and toothpaste. Where is the right, guaranteed by the Constitution, to provide a worthy condition of life? I do not want my children not to be able to attend school because they has nothing put on their legs." Olga shrugs her shoulders in dismay.

Olga tried to find work, but was unsuccessful. She gets a pension of 4 thousand rubles a year, [which, on the basis of the value of the ruble, is extremely small], and the salary of a psychologist if she were lucky enough to find such a job would be 270 rubles. "So what is the sense?" Gruzdeva ponders: "Freedom of choice in a democratic state is that everyone decides for himself: to try to earn mountains of gold, or simply to live on a guaranteed government maintenance. I'm not a drunkard; I'm not a parasite. I'm bringing my children up to be good people and I encourage them to read books and get an education."

Four of five of her children, together with Olga Gruzdeva, denounced their citizenship from the Russian Federation. Because of that 16-year old Sergey, and 19-year old, Yaroslav, will not serve in the Russian army [all male citizens of Russia older than 18 years must see service in military forces as a constitutional duty]. Their mother asserts that she did not want her sons "to die in the Chechen war". She knows that there is a law about alternative service based on the reason of poor health of her sons, and they are not acceptable for this duty. For example during last draft selection, Yaroslav was not taken in the Army because of a deficiency of weight – he did not meet the normal "dimensions" of 24 kgs." Why does the state constantly deceive its citizens? In the Constitution it is written down, that a citizen is obliged to protect the Motherland. But it is not possible to consider the wars in the Afghanistan or Chechnya as protection of the Motherland?"

All children in the family, but one, have read the constitution more than once, and understand the position their mother is taking, and have accepted it. The senior son, who is 24 years old, has not agreed to the renunciation of citizenship. He decided that he is not ready for such a radical step.

In a near future, Olga Gruzdeva will hand over her passport, and receive instead a residence permit. Under the Russian laws she will continue to receive a pension and even to receive citizen privileges. The major difficulty that Olga will have, according to the representative of the president in Vologda region, is if she would want to apply for a visa to visit any other state. However, Olga has no plans to visit any other state. "I carefully considered the whole situation," she said "I'm not a Jewess, or a German; I have no money, and if my native Russia doesn't really need me, other countries would need me even less."

"She voluntarily gave up her Russian citizenship," the representative of the president commented. "This case displays well the presence of democracy in the Russian Federation. The state has acted according to the Constitution of Russia, and the world declaration on the human rights, Though we tried to help Gruzdeva more than most people with

STUDENT HANDOUT A

her difficult situation, she has chosen to deny her citizenship. She has received all of the children's welfare payments - right down to December, 1997, though other large families received payment only for March - April of the last year."

"I do not want, my denunciation of my citizenship to be understood just as blackmail of the government; I accept that those grants have been paid in full, but my position is simple: I want, that the state must take into consideration, not only me, but all of its citizens." Said Olga Gruzdeva.

Olga's logic seems strange to many people and some think that she wants to create a false popularity to herself, and others directly condemn her "for parricide". However, in my opinion, her case – is the direct proof, that in Russia there exists a sense of justice, even if only occasionally. This may, indeed, be an idea to require the fulfillment of obligations of the government; and could only come to mind only to a person living in a democratic society.

As I depart from Vologda, I have learned that many more large families from Vologda have submitted the petition for the denial of citizenship.

Svetlana Svistunova, reporter

Translation from the original Russian
by Peter Simonenko

Questions

1. In your opinion, what makes the situation described in the article extraordinary?
2. How does the main character of the article motivate her decision to reject the Russian citizenship?
3. How did her countrymen and local authorities regard her decision?
4. From the viewpoint of the character, what constitutional rights of Russian citizens does the state break?
5. How do you regard the character and her children's choice? Do you consider a free-willed rejection of citizenship to be a display of democracy and growth of legal sense of citizens? Evaluate legal, political and moral consequences of the action of the article's character.

Lawful State in Russia: Problems and Perspectives

Introduction

This lesson explores several concepts of citizenship from a Russian point of view: citizenship as mutual responsibility of the citizen and state and the legal consequences of the rejection of citizenship. The basic notions of this lesson deal with citizenship, the rights of a citizen of the Russian Federation and the mutual responsibility of the state and citizen. American teachers might want to have their students design parallel US Constitutional or governmental comparisons, e.g. the "lawful state" in Russia, and the Constitutional guarantees of citizen security in the United States. Another approach would be to do a comparative analysis of the respective Constitutions of Russia and other East European or Central Asian nations.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- generalize and systematize students' knowledge about lawful society.
- discuss problems of forming lawful society in Russia.
- determine possible perspectives for solving public problems.

Essential Resources

- Student arrangement: 3 students are seated at a separate table having evaluation sheets and a watch. The rest of the students are divided into 3 groups.
- Student HANDOUT A "Rules of Brainstorming."
- Student HANDOUT B "Evaluation Sheets."

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Today we will complete our work on the theme "Lawful State." This lesson will be devoted to the problems of forming a lawful state in Russia. Why is this topic studied as a separate lesson? The reason is the following: nowadays Russia is at the stage of forming lawful state and this process mainly depends on those who participate in it. In several years you will take part in elections for the first time, participate in the formation of our authorities who determine our life. You should start your independence having a certain level of political and legal culture, necessary theoretical and practical knowledge, so that you can be useful for your state and society. It is impossible to establish lawful state without knowing its theoretical fundamentals. That is why today we will try to systematize and generalize your knowledge about lawful society, to find out the main problems of forming it in Russia and give our variants of how to solve them. This lesson will have the form of "brain-storming" with elements of discussion.

To begin with, I will ask you several theoretical questions:

- Give your definition of "lawful state."
- Enumerate the basic features of lawful state.

2 Ask the groups to identify the problems of a contemporary lawful state in Russia. Students should write them down and one member of each group should present them to the class. The teacher writes the problems on the blackboard.

For example, students might identify the following problems:

- Legal inequality of citizens.
- Lack of the command of the Law
- Weak judicial power.
- Lack of humanitarian fundamentals of the state policy.
- Contradiction of certain laws.
- Lack of mutual responsibility of citizens and the state.
- Lack of development of civil society.
- Corruption of the state authority.
- Lack of legal culture of the population.

3 Ask groups to identify the 3 most significant problems from the list.

4 Each group is then asked to choose one of the problems for further work. In 10 minutes they should suggest possible solutions for solving this problem, formulate their conclusions in the written form and then present their projects to the class. [Teacher will select three students to observe the group work and evaluate their activity on the evaluation sheets]. The panel members can sum up the results of the lesson.

VOCABULARY OF THE LESSON

Lawful state: the state which provides people's sovereignty, inviolability of human rights and freedoms, command of the Law, division of the powers and responsibility of the authority for the society, independence of the Court, priority of the international law norms.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Rules of Brainstorming

- Suggest as many variants of solving the given problem as possible.
- Make your imagination work.
- Do not deny ideas only because they contradict the generally accepted opinion.
- Develop ideas of other participants.
- Don't try to evaluate the suggested ideas.

Rules of Discussion

- Define the basic notions.
- Prove your statements; give examples.
- Support your statements with facts, definitions, evaluations.
- Don't repeat yourself and others.
- Be tolerant to other opinions.
- Try to be precise when giving the facts.
- Respect your interlocutors and opponents.
- Try to make your speech correct.
- Always make conclusions to your report.
- Don't interrupt the orator.

STUDENT HANDOUT B

Evaluation Sheet For Group Work

Name and surname of the evaluator date of the lesson

Topic of the Discussion:

Name of the participant	Mark (1,2,3,4,5)	Grounds for giving this mark

Reforms in the Society

Introduction

This lesson explores several concepts of citizenship from a Russian point of view: citizenship as mutual responsibility of the citizen and state and the legal consequences of the rejection of citizenship. The basic notions of this lesson deal with citizenship, the rights of a citizen of the Russian Federation and the mutual responsibility of the state and citizen. American teachers might want to have their students design parallel US Constitutional or governmental comparisons, e.g. the "lawful state" in Russia, and the Constitutional guarantees of citizen security in the United States. Another approach would be to do a comparative analysis of the respective Constitutions of Russia and other East European or Central Asian nations.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- To create conditions for the formation of students' own point of view concerning state reforms, their expediency and directivity
- To find out the importance of the influence of the legislator's personality on the development of the country as a whole and on the position of different social groups.
- To help students to master the experience of the legislative activity.
- To develop skills of group-work, skills to give arguments for their point of view, to apply the knowledge obtained at adjacent subjects.
- To educate a sense of responsibility for the destiny of their Motherland.

Essential Resources

- Blackboard - topic of the lesson, epigraph "The purpose justifies means..."
- Questions for discussion
- Sheets of paper for group-work (one sheet for 4 students)
- Workbooks
- Literature:

  1. Preobrazhenskiy A, Rybakov B. History of the Motherland.

  2. Ionov I. Russian Civilization.

  US teachers will substitute appropriate histories of Russia, and accounts of the period of Peter the First.

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

Basic notions: reform, reformer, law, legislator, purpose and means, authority and society.

1 **Statement of the Problem.** Ask students to interpret the meaning of the following: "The end justifies the means..." Have them give examples from history, movies and their personal life experience. It is very important that the teacher helps the children to state contrary opinions. This will help to dispose them to a discussion, to avoid possible conformity among children. They will understand that problem questions are many-sided and that it is impossible to estimate such problems unequivocally and to find only one possible solution.

After the discussion the teacher asks the students: "Why did I offer you this particular expression at the beginning of the lesson?" or "What problem will we discuss today?"

The students can link this expression with the topic of the lesson and say that the lesson will be devoted to the comparison of the goals of the reformers (in this case it'll be Peter I) and means of their achievement. Thus the teacher together with the class approaches the detection of the main problem of the lesson.

2 **Sinking into the problem.** The class is divided into two groups. The first group is asked to analyze the reforms of Peter I and find out their advantages. The second one should focus on the disadvantages. During the work the students should pay attention to the significance of the reforms for the personality, different social groups and the state as a whole. Then the groups report the results of their work. The teacher asks to make the most disputable or badly formulated reasons more exact. During the discussion it becomes clear that a number of the reforms were not thoroughly considered, didn't take into account concerns of people, social groups, cultural traditions of the Russian society. The students themselves formulate such conclusions. The teacher asks them to correct the mistakes of the Russian Emperor at the next stage of the lesson.

3 **Group work.** The teacher asks the students to correct Peter's reforms offering their own variants of his legislation. Working in groups of four they make their message to the tsar with the proposals to introduce amendments into this or that law that will improve the situation in Russia. The groups consider the opinions of each group-member. The best proposals are written down on the sheets of paper. After that group-representatives present their projects to the class. The rest, together with the teacher, comment on their actuality and efficiency.

Students of one school proposed the following amendments:

- To gather Zemskiy Councils regularly.
- To introduce appointment of senators by election.
- To release peasants from serfdom.
- To improve living conditions of workers.
- To introduce obligatory learning of the Russian language and optional learning of foreign languages, etc.

(Sometimes it is difficult for students to make their proposals real. The teacher should explain the difference between laws and slogans.)

4 **Summing up the lesson. Final conclusions.** At the end of the lesson the teacher asks the students to complete the phrase "Reforms in the country are necessary for. . . " All who want can speak out. The rest will answer in their own notebooks. That will be the final conclusion of the lesson. Reflecting on what he/she has heard, conforming to his/her own values, a student finds his/her own answer to the given question and determines for himself/herself if the purpose justifies any means in politics and life.

5 **Evaluation.** The students evaluate each other's work in groups and write down the marks on the reverse side of the group-work sheets. The teacher evaluates the work of the most active speakers.

6 **Homework.** The group-work proved that the quality of laws depends on those who propose them. The legislator, ruler plays an important role in the life of the country. Explaining this to the students the teacher gives the following homework: create a written portrait of the ruler or leader that you would like to have.

SECTION THREE ESSAYS

FOSTERING A DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE

Culture of Democracy	Bragaw
Democracy as an Argument/ Democracy as a Process	Hartoonian/Bragaw
A Democratic Model	Robert Dahl

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The Culture of Democracy

By Don H. Bragaw, Ph.D (East Carolina University, Emeritus)

The purpose of this section is to provide the users of this resource some background in the development and operation of participatory activities that encourage an active democracy—wherever it is found or growing. As scholars have identified in the literature, democracy is the most difficult system of government to install and operate. This has been true from the earliest manifestations of the system under the Greeks. As Pericles aptly observed in the 5th Century, if men of commerce expected to do business in Athens then they were expected to participate actively in its governance. This was applicable to all men (exclusively) of property and substance. As the decreasing voting statistics in the United States over the past generation have shown, both the interest in, and the participation in, the processes of democratic governance have severely declined. This decline has been reflected across the board of both political parties, and across the world. Schools have a role to play in reinvigorating what Alexis deTocqueville once characterized as the "genius" of the American experience.

Moscow

In order for any peoples, or nations, to adopt and operate a democratic system of government, there must be agencies, practices, organizations, and individuals who are willing to engage in the messy everyday turmoil of give and take processes that allow democratic ways of life to flourish. There must exist a "culture" of discourse, of dialogue, of conversation, of inquiry concerning the important issues of the day; there must exist a willingness to join and foster non-governmental organizations—of both the formal and informal type. There must also be a willingness to engage oneself in the issues of the day, through newspapers, radio/television, and in everyday contacts; a willingness to take some time to write letters to the newspaper editor, to alert your govern-

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ment representatives to your opinion, to participate in issue oriented or advocacy local, state or national groups; to take the time to become informed and vote in all elections.

In this world of busy and active lives, this emphasis should become at least a small part of that life—in our lives as well as those of other nations. To that end, therefore, we support programs such as that encourage participatory types of popular democratic interaction. Some examples of these programs are: *Project Citizen*, a program of the Center for Civic Education; the basic instructional approaches used by the *National Issues Forum*; a program produced by The American Forum in the form of a *Global Issues Analysis Model*, encouraging active intellectual and activist involvement in global issues; and a description of an international program from Sweden, entitled *Democracy at the Local Level*. This latter piece is a description of a larger handbook to guide groups or individual people to begin grassroots approaches to getting people involved in the political process. These programs, are, of course, not the only programs available, these suggestions are merely included to begin a teacher's search for suitable programs which encourage student/citizen involvement in the civil affairs of an aware public— a first step toward a truly democratic state of citizen input and involvement.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

KAZAKHSTAN

The time has arrived for resourceful and active people - like myself, for example. I work mainly on advertising projects, and there is no shortage of orders. I try to satisfy the clients, though these days a lot of people lack taste and manners. I have to make all sorts of moral compromises, but I can't afford to stick to high moral principles. I'm glad that I can feed myself and my son well, send him to a good school, have computers and not stint on leisure activities and trips. Before we had none of that. But we try not to be out on the streets after 10pm - there's crime everywhere.

-Yelena Sukenova, 32, television producer

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Democracy as a Civic Challenge

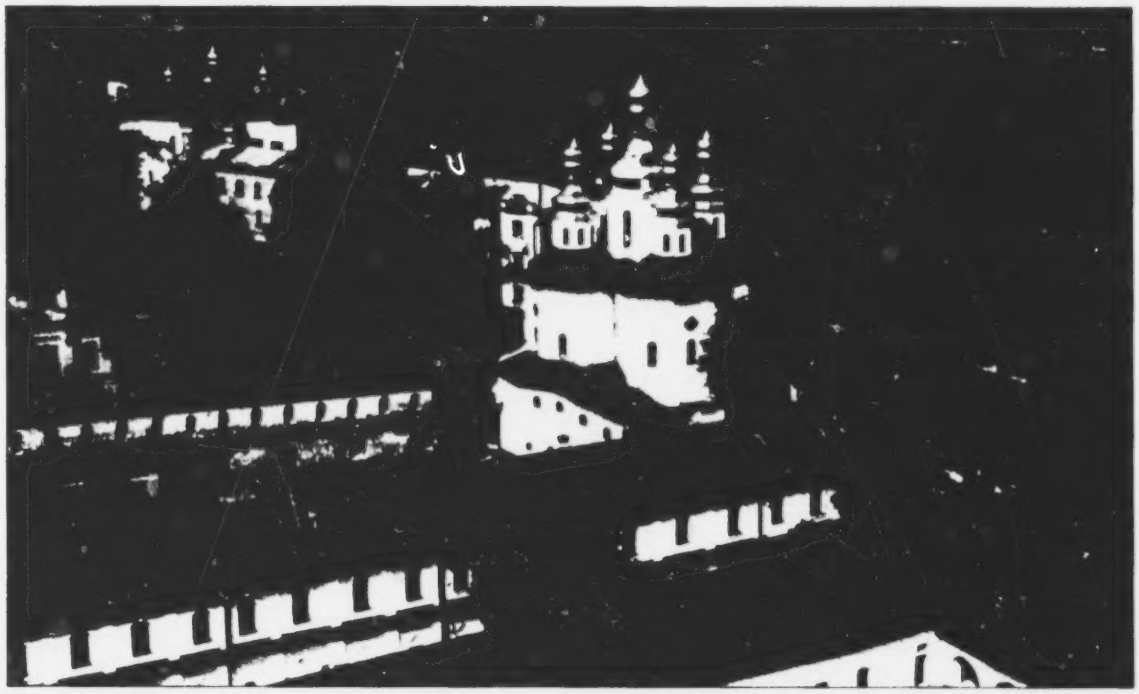
By: H. Michael Hartoonian, Ph.D (University of Minnesota)
and Don H. Bragaw, Ph.D (East Carolina University, Emeritus)

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history of democracies in the world, freedom, equality, and well being for all, were not always automatic. In the case of the United States even now the system is still not perfect. Obtaining and maintaining freedom and equality for all, remains a never ceasing goal. Americans have been an argumentative bunch-challenging, discussing, debating and talking about ideas in which an injustice, a denial of rights, or an abridgement of freedom has forced us to examine ourselves and our beliefs as well as our system of government. We assert the claim that such a "civic argument," is one way in which the progress of democracy can be stimulated, measured and evaluated. As we examine the emerging democracies of the world, it is important to keep the U. S. experience as one example of how democracy was established, developed and sustained.

DEMOCRACY AS AN ARGUMENT

Democracy is a civic argument that is more than merely a political or economic process of development. It involves historical memory resulting from both experience and formal learning, and often demands that citizens freely use that information to take sides, or assume positions relative to issues involved in their daily personal/public, political, economic, social and global lives. It is a system of on-going conversations that demands a civil relationship between citizens. This does not always mean agreement; there may be discontent and turmoil, but it must be civil. Democracy does not automatically arise out of "primal mud" but needs to be planted and nourished by years of practice and experience. It demands conditions that allow people to freely discuss, debate and argue. It means, also, a growing awareness that both sees and values the relationship between the individual, and the public roles required of all active citizens in confronting and dealing with the issues of the day. It is an awareness of the struggle between self-interest, and the knowledge that we are all part of an organized system of political, economic, social and other cultural activities and practices that attain their quality through the development of a "civic" conscience.



Lavra Monastery, Kiev

Another way of looking at a "civic conscience" is to view it as the intentional linking of ethics (the ways in which people behave) and knowledge and operation of the world around us. This, of course, takes citizen interest and involvement. Such involvement with others is the hallmark of both democracy and education. Not just any involvement, but the involvement that arouses in citizens the search for freedom, where freedom is demonstrated in the ability to reach, and to be allowed to reach, beyond what a person presently is and imagine new realities built on the sharing of dynamic, and possibly, competing value claims. Such ideas form the fundamental arguments, which keep a democracy dynamic.

As European colonists arrived in the "new world" of the Americas they brought with them European law, traditions and beliefs, but soon found that the near virgin land which they settled called for innovation and experimentation—not alone in legal systems, or political structures, but in the very act of existing—for not all people were of the same class, or held the same views. Nor were they the only peoples on the land. Forced to cope daily with those challenges, the arguments of democratic life grew quickly, and for the European Empires, dangerously. The American Revolution did not suddenly arise out of the minds of Jefferson or Madison, or others, but had been accomplished long before in the daily living of people constantly faced with the tensions of life adjustment, and accomplishing it within structures they themselves began to develop and nurture. The fertile ground, the freedom of thinking and doing, the unimpeded movement, all conspired to promote increasing democratic attitudes and behavior. It was, from the beginning, a culture conducive for the promotion of democratic behavior; the geographical isolation of the American colonies and, then, the U.S., only intensified that internal development. It was those active and community oriented forms of democracy that De Tocqueville found so intriguing when he traveled in the United States early in the 19th Century, and which he so aptly termed the "habits of the heart."

When people talk in a society, when they are allowed to talk and "argue" in a civil conversation, there is a greater respect for and honoring of the idea of self-governance —at all levels.

The world is faced in Eastern Europe and Central Asia with new nations whose borders have seen constant invasion and conquest. One repressive regime after another crushed the will and desire of the people for anything beyond sheer survival. The great need in these areas is for a culture that can provide the potential for democratic behavior. There is no want of desire for freedom and economic independence. The process of democratization will be gradual and will probably take a different form. The value tensions described below will be present in these areas, but they may not always be recognizable to the Western eye. But the process has begun; the people in some of these areas have begun to savor the rule of law in which they participate, the potential for the accumulation of private wealth and well-being within the structures of their own making are emerging; there is a desire for security and an improved quality of life. Changing hundreds, nay, in some cases, thousands of years of traditions of oppression, is a task worthy of a global Hercules, but is motivated by the free will of a newly freed populace whose memory must be helped to erase the cumulative grievances of all those years!

DEMOCRATIC VALUES

The full spectrum of beliefs which constitute the democratic challenge, the argument if you will, and which launched the American republic over two hundred years ago, and which still provides direction and guidance include:

Ethics—>—>——<—<—Law

Common Wealth—>—>——<—<—Private Wealth

Freedom—>—>——<—<—Equality

Diversity—>—>——<—<—Unity

This spectrum of dynamic tensions has, within this framework, as varied an interpretation pattern as there are people to argue their merits or fallacies.

Democracy does not presuppose agreement on diverse values; rather, it suggests a way of relating values to each other and of leaving the resolution of value conflicts open to participants in a public process, ubject only to certain provisions protecting the shape and form of the process itself... (Held, p.298)

The fundamental arguments emerging from this framework — couched occasionally in political terms like conservative, liberal, or nationalist or internationalist, or democratic, communist, socialist or whatever—arising from this spectrum of ideas, have always rested (and still do today) upon these core ideals and their interpretation, understanding and implementation by each generation. The history of the United States is the history of how "We The People" grew from a group of white males, over 21 years of age, who owned property in the several states, to the inclusive membership of today. It is the playing out of this spectrum of beliefs that is our history.

That story is the continuing record of how these value tensions have been, and are, debated and implemented in everyday life. The varied conflicts between ethics and law, private wealth and commonwealth, freedom and equality, and diversity and unity provide the first "master" curriculum for the education of democratic citizens. They provide the character, content, and context for education and life both within a school, as well as in the larger community. These four juxtaposed spectrum of ideas/values actually constitute a unity, a system. That is, all four of these tensions, or seemingly opposing ideas, must be understood as existing side by side— at times in full harmony, at other times, testing the limits of their flexibility or control. It is such tensions that provide the storyline for the continuing heroic script of a people who define themselves as developers and promoters of a democratic system, but also as loving critics of democracy and free markets. Let's look at these tensions one at a time.

ETHICS AND LAW

In the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson discussed the need "to separate one nation from another." He made a distinction between statute law (adopted by a people to govern their own society) and higher law ("laws" held dear by moral principle), that is, the separate and equal stations to which the LAWS OF NATURE and NATURE'S GOD entitle them, to make his chief argument. This was the central philosophical debate at the time of the American Revolution. Jefferson was asking: by what rationale can we break the law (at that time, the British law)? This was also a major controversy in Lincoln's position in the debates that led up to the Civil War. Despite the fact that the (statute)"law" made it legal to hold slaves, a higher principle ("All men are created equal") denied that right and, in Lincoln's (and other's) view, took priority over that law. Martin Luther King, Jr. invoked the same argument during the Civil Rights movement to assert the civil rights denied to "people of color" by statute laws at both the State and Federal levels of government. We can begin to observe similar tensions between ethics and law, in the continuing debates all over the world regarding a people's right to freedom, the nature of citizenship, questions of loyalty, and even of love of country. To be a democratic citizen means that you understand laws can always be improved by testing and re-examining them for their moral validity. This is the ongoing argument between law and ethics. It is the stuff by which the human conscience helps to improve the quality of life for all—regardless of where they are geographically.

To be sure, a great deal of mischief can be (and has been) perpetrated in the name of God, moral assertions or national "honor." It must not be assumed, that just because one holds to a certain "higher principle" that that automatically makes it right. The fanatical events of September 11, 2001 are proof of that. That is why the tension between statute law and higher law must always be a part of the democratic civic debate. This tension must be taught and practiced as consistently as the multiplication tables, or theories of creation. Like the other value tensions, below, this is a conglomeration of seemingly contradictory ideas that the democratic mind must hold together, and understand why it is necessary to do so, if a democratic system of governance is to be established and be able to survive.

PRIVATE WEALTH AND COMMON WEALTH

To understand this tension of belief we must understand the principle of the interactive nature of private (or individual) wealth and the common wealth, or what Jefferson called "the pursuit of public happiness." At the time of the Revolution such "public" happiness was understood to be a very real part of the good and worthy public and private life. Public happiness meant living beyond self. It meant, that beyond your own personal security, one had an obligation to give of one's talents to make the larger community better. It meant to love, to learn, to be responsible, and to care for the ethical foundation of an ever-expanding society of which one was a part. Public happiness was the rationale for calling such states as Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania commonwealths—people gathered together for the "commonweal" or the public good and welfare. Since the American Revolution, and certainly since the 1990-1 revolutions in the Soviet empire, greater and greater emphasis began to be placed on private or individual wealth as the key measure of success. This was not always accomplished by fairness or equity.

Private wealth, that which the democratic state allows, promotes and regulates, is accumulated by the stint of hard work and creative effort, and involves a certain degree of selfishness. But even with that emphasis, there has always been a conscious effort by some to foster the greater ideal of the "common wealth" as being the way in which any society can best preserve its basic heritage. The strongest, and most successful democracies maintain the equilibrium of private and common

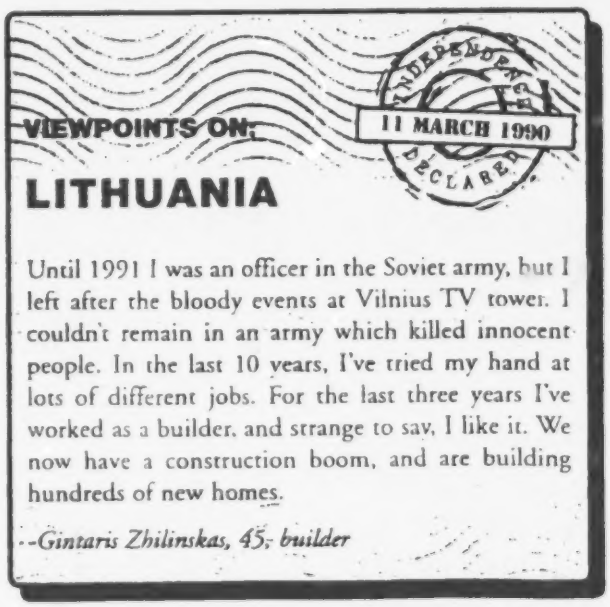
wealth. When that equilibrium is destroyed or skewed by greed, corruption or dishonesty, then the ideals of democratic living are placed in danger.

One of the great dangers in any emerging democracy is that as people suddenly realize that they are responsible for their own political and economic security, and the personal aspect of that realization is to become very possessive of one's own welfare. Those in power desire to keep power, and all of the rewards that that power brings; the citizenry may respond in a similar manner when given the "power" to accumulate wealth. When there is an imbalance in personal wealth and the commonwealth there comes into existence the potential for conflict, greed and corruption—and may become a way of life—and incompatible to true democratic behavior.

FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

Perhaps the most important tension within the history of any democracy has been and continues to be the argument between freedom and equality. Democracy, at its best, is a continuous struggle to balance these two ideals. It is the argument that in the American experience that brought about the Bill of Rights, that eventually freed the slaves, that gave women the vote, that assured ethnic groups full protection under the law, and that promises full gender equality. It is this same key balance that is also certainly true of the newly emerging democracies.

Attempts at allowing too much freedom, or too much equality, always results in too little of one or the other, and can result in an undemocratic situation. With complete freedom, for example, within a very short time, most power and resources of a society would be in the hands of a few. This situation has occurred several times over the span of America's story, and is a major stumbling block in all of the new democracies today. Several new states are experiencing this as part of their growth, or are being subjected to criminal elements, which exploit a new system's internal weaknesses. If left unattended, this condition would have destroyed the American nation, and certainly impedes the progress of newly emerging democratic states. From the struggle to create the Constitution, to the reasons for the Civil War, to the laws that were enacted to protect labor, gender, and civil rights, we, in the United States, have experienced the fundamental struggle between freedom and equality. This is a very real democratic struggle and can be observed, for example, in the treatment of ethnic minorities, in newly emerging democracies today. It is also the fundamental tension of businesses in a free market. That is, to be successful over the long run, firms must provide a sense and reality of integrity and opportunity for their stockholders (owners) but also for employee growth— educationally, and financially, so people can see that barriers to advancement can be erased, while they enhance freedom and, as a result, wealth is promoted democratically for all. In a democratic society, government must always be vigilant that corporate rights do not destroy individual rights.


INDEPENDENCE
11 MARCH 1990
DECLARED
VIEWPOINTS ON:
LITHUANIA
Until 1991 I was an officer in the Soviet army, but I left after the bloody events at Vilnius TV tower. I couldn't remain in an army which killed innocent people. In the last 10 years, I've tried my hand at lots of different jobs. For the last three years I've worked as a builder, and strange to say, I like it. We now have a construction boom, and are building hundreds of new homes.
--Gintaris Zhilinskas, 45, builder

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DIVERSITY AND UNITY

"Out of many One." The American Republic is still best understood as a national ideal where the two contradictory ideas of diversity and unity can be entertained at the same time. The genius of the free democratic mind is, in fact, this ability. Since the founding of the nation, Americans have always had the issue of national identity as a major tension with which to deal in its development. The era of the American Civil War is one example of that tension. That same ideal, which has served the American experience so well, is now a global reality with borders increasingly porous. While the echoes of nationalism, and ethnic pride, still resound, the fluid nature of the world economies and cultural transactions make the world a far less rigid one.

VIEWPOINTS ON:

AZERBAIJAN

In Soviet times everyone lived communally, there was no unemployment and living standards were high. But we did not value this enough.

-Aliya Mamed-Zade, 53, teacher

The essential story of the U. S. is as a nation of immigrants, with the constant blending of peoples, heritages and ideas and, simultaneously of the preservation of separate identities. It is that blending that tells the developing democratic tale. There are many family and ethnic stories that speak to more personal and family identities. What does it mean to be African-American? Irish-American? Serbo-Croatian? Armenian-Azerbaijani, Uzbek-Russian? First, it means that a person can hold and understand the unity and diversity of the national being and within this context develop an individual, personal identity. It is only from the ability to hold both ideals, both national and personal identities, that we create a culture capable of promoting and nurturing democracy. This phenomenon now makes its way around the globe; for as the democratization process takes place and expands so, too, do the barriers of race, ethnicity and gender begin to fall. While the notion of a "melting pot" of the entire world is far more complex, it is nevertheless occurring. It appears to be an inescapable "law of humanity."

THE OFFICE OF CITIZEN

The American Republic, known as the United States of America, is built upon the principle that people should occupy the most important position in government—that of "the office of citizen". Citizens who take this office seriously are in touch with the cultural heritage of the nation, and the cultural ideals of the world's people in general. They possess knowledge of the economic, political, and social factors that make up the human ecosystem in which all must function, and they understand its relationship to natural systems. They understand the principles of the rule of law, legal limits to freedom, and majority rule with protection for minority rights. They have informed spatial, temporal, and cultural perspectives, and possess the attitudes and behavior that support fair play and cooperation.

But, most of all, and in the sense of the ideal, they understand that at the heart of democracy is the need to give voice to the on-going argument defined in the tensions of the four contrasting value ideas described above. It is from these engagements, or arguments if you will, that all laws and behaviors—both national and international— take root and connect. These are the first goals of civic education (the master-curriculum) in the world. Without a conscious and intentional effort to teach and act on these ideals, a free republic will not long endure—anywhere. Perhaps that is heritage that the United States might help developing nations across the globe to achieve. It is a template that can be adapted, adjusted and changed to suit any emerging individual national ethos and is worthy of consideration. It is this series of arguments that is the core of any

democratic system. It is these continuing arguments, the give and take of making the system work, that each of the newly independent states must struggle to achieve. It is not an easy task; the road is rocky and there will be times when even the glimmer of democracy is shaky and dim.

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The Robert Dahl Democratic Model

INCLUSIVE CITIZENSHIP
RULE OF LAW

SEPARATION OF POWERS
ELECTED POWER HOLDERS

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION AND ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF INFORMATION

ASSOCIATIONAL AUTONOMY
CIVILIAN CONTROL OVER MILITARY

(Adapted from Robert A. Dahl, *On Democracy*, Yale University Press, 1996
This model is frequently used to illustrate the major principles of a free and open democratic society or culture. Other scholars such as David Held in *Models of Democracy*, 1995 have provided alternative models which can also be useful.)

SECTION THREE LESSONS

FOSTERING A DEMOCRATIC DIALOGUE

Comparative Democracies	Middle school
Values and Society	Secondary
Five Most Important Issues	Secondary
Voting Right/Duty?	Middle school/secondary (Average)
Voting Right/Duty?	Middle school/secondary (Advanced)
Each One Teach One	Middle school/secondary
Rating a Nation	Middle school
Freedom House Writer	Secondary school
Development of Democracy and Free Markets	Secondary

Values and a Society: A Democratic Experiment

Introduction

In this project, we will examine the question of how important democracy and free markets are in creating a desirable society. The controversial element of the project will arise as students begin to analyze whether or not the quality of a society can be measured by the degree to which individuals can live lives which they value. Various countries can be examined, including the following countries from the DEEP project: Uzbekistan and the Czech Republic. (Any nation might be used)

This project is intended to be implemented near the conclusion of a typical World Studies/World History class so as to build on several concepts that will have already been introduced. Concepts which students should have been exposed or need to be introduced to before beginning the project include:

- The difference between market, mixed and command economies.
- Characteristics of efficient markets
- Basic principles of democracy (people have power, often accomplished through representation)

The basic structure of the lesson will be as follows:

- Generate a general idea of what we value as Americans
- Analyze possible challenges that might stop us from pursuing these values
- Analyze concept of 'capabilities' and its relation to freedom
- Examine the role of economic and political freedom in providing these 'capabilities.'
- Examine the value statements of other societies
- Discuss the validity of the controversial statement: *The quality of a society can be measured by the degree to which its members are able to pursue lives which they value.*

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Approximate Length

3 class periods

Grade Level

Senior High School

National Standards

National Civics Standards—Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the effects of significant international political, economic, technological, and cultural developments in the United States and other nations.

Course/Curriculum Area

This project was designed for an introductory World Studies/World History course; however it can easily be adapted for use in an upper level Economics or Government course due to its examination of political and economic freedoms.

Essential Purposes

Students will be able to:

- Analyze the importance of 'capability freedom' in cultural development. Identify economic, social and political developmental trends in the 20th century. Compare economic, social and political freedoms in various geographic locations
- Identify economic, social and political developmental trends in the 20th century
- Compare economic, social and political freedoms in various geographic locations.
- Compare statements of what constitutes a 'good' society from various cultural perspectives
- Formulate a thesis as to the role of both political and economic freedom in creating a 'good' society, where good is defined as what people themselves have reason to value

Terms

Capability Freedom: Basic abilities or 'capabilities' which people need to possess in order to live lives they value (i.e. low infant mortality, access to health care, basic education, etc.)

Economic System: A society's method of organization of their productive economic resources.

Market Command, Traditional and Mixed Economies: Various types of economic systems.

Democracy: Government where power is shared by the people, either directly or indirectly through elected representatives.

Essential Resources

- Student HANDOUT A "American Values Sheet"
- Student HANDOUT B "Project Assignment Sheet"
- Student HANDOUT C "Personal Reflection Sheet"
- Student HANDOUT D "Research Guide"
- Student HANDOUT E "Final Discussion Sheet"
- Student HANDOUT F "Group Thesis Sheet"

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

Day One

Distribute Student HANDOUT A "American Values Sheet," and with a partner have the students rank what they consider the three most important values to Americans to be. Discuss student opinions and generate an overall list of the students' opinions on the board. Next ask them to brainstorm for a moment what will they need to be able live the life they desire to live after graduation from school. It might help to talk for a moment first about some common desires they have for life after school. Have them share what they will need to live the life they want to after graduation. Write down any recurring ideas or concerns on the board. Then try to synthesize a description of what Americans value in society. Pass out Student HANDOUT B "Project Assignment Sheet," and discuss the organizing theme of the project including the definition of value and the controversial statement, "The quality of a society can be measured by the degree to which its members are able to pursue lives which they value."

Distribute Student HANDOUT C "Personal Reflection Sheet." For a homework assignment, have the students respond to following question, "What do I need from society in order to live the life I want to?" They should address both of the following points: 'What do you value in life, both now and what you think you will value in the future', and 'What do they need from their society to be able to pursue these things that they value'.

Day Two

■ Brainstorm a list of challenges that might stop people from pursuing the things they value in life. Try to have the students think both locally and globally. Try and narrow down a list of challenges that might apply to as many people and places as possible.

■ Introduce concept of 'capabilities.' Have them write down the following definition, "Basic abilities which allow people to live lives which they value." Use the measurement of infant mortality as an example. Compare mortality of children under the age of five in Angola with that in the United States. Explain that if one third of the population is dead before the age of five, then they, by definition, will not be able to live a life which they have reason to value. They do not have the ability to pursue the things they desire. After giving this example, have the students list other possible 'capabilities.' Offer suggestions if they need assistance. Possible ideas include literacy, access to health care, life expectancy and income per capita. Have the students write down the entire list that the class generates through discussion.

■ Set up research topics and teams. Pass out Student HANDOUT D "Research Guide" and discuss directions. In small groups, students will compare 'capabilities' in certain areas across a set of countries from different locations throughout the world. Use the capabilities on the assignment sheet, or add or subtract as you decide. The suggested research link is The United Nations statistical center, which tracks literally thousands of such indicators. The groups will also analyze the degree of economic and political freedom within their country, and construct a recent timeline of events within the country to examine the level of social stability that exists. Ideally there will be four students in a group. If you have an extremely large or small class, you can either adjust the size of the groups or the number of countries to be studied.

■ The scope and intensity of the research can be adjusted according to your needs. Students can present their findings on a poster or presentation software such as 'PowerPoint' or you can have them simply fill out their research findings sheets and have them report back to the class. The

assignment sheet gives specific sites to guide their research if time is short, or you can have them develop their research skills by having a less directed project where they have to fid more of the relevant information themselves. If they are given the relevant internet sites the research process shouldn't take that long, perhaps a day or two.

Day Three

■ Distributed Student HANDOUT E "Final Discussion Sheet." Once the students have acquired the necessary information, have them discuss in groups the following questions:

- What is the role of political freedom/economic freedom/social stability (address each one) in providing the 'capabilities' of freedom?
- Which of the following factors, politica1 freedom, economic freedom or a history of social stability, have been the most influential in determining the level of 'capability' freedom in your country?

Allow them time to discuss this, and then construct a written response that they will share with the class. They must use evidence from their research in their responses.

■ Have a representative from each group read their written response. Take time to discuss their opinions and develop or clarify anything that is unclear for the class.

■ Arrange the students in as many groups as there are members in the groups. For instance, if there are four members on each research team then divide the students into four groups. Make sure that each group has a representative from each different country that was studied. At this point, distribute Student HANDOUT F "Group Thesis Sheet." Explain the expectations, and have the students discuss their opinions and begin answering the three basic questions of the project. For each question, they must use evidence from their research. Once they have finished the three questions, they should construct their group thesis in response to the organizing statement of the project:

The quality of a society can be measured by the degree to which its members can pursue lives that they value.

Do they agree or disagree with this statement? Tell them that they must include information from the above questions in their thesis. How important is economic freedom? Political freedom? Social stability?

Conclusion

It is hoped that the work generated by the students, both their 'values' essays and their closing analyses of the role of freedom in society will be able to be posted on the internet. Ideally teachers in other countries might be able to do a similar project in their classrooms. The project could then be extended to include analysis of the work of students from other countries and perhaps the beginnings of an authentic online discussion opportunity. The iEARN web site might offer an ideal setting for this opportunity if interest existed.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

American Values Sheet

Rationale

The good life. What is it? Don't we all want a "good" life? But is there a good life? Can we say that any life is actually good or preferable without implying that there is such a thing as not good or less preferable? Is this even acceptable to discuss in today's atmosphere of intellectual relativism? Or in a related issue, is it necessary for an individual to live a good life that they are able to live in a good society? Let us start with the assumption that all people desire to live lives that they value. The pursuit of the good life would seem to entail the ability to live this life which people have reason to value. Yet how can we determine what people believe to be important in their lives? What about asking them? While this determination of societal values might need various qualifications for the existence of cultural prejudice and parochialism, what better place to start than with the desires of peoples themselves? If we can arrive at some self-imposed description of what people value, it can be argued that the degree to which people are able to pursue this description, is a measurement of their ability to pursue the good life, at least for them. Then, by applying this insight to societies in general, the quality of life within a society could be measured by the degree to which the society allows them to pursue the lives they themselves value. This project will address this controversial issue by posing the following statement to the students as a focus for their research and discussion:

The quality of a society can be measured by the degree to which its members are able to pursue lives that they value.

Now essential to any understanding of how societies are organized is the issue of power. John Galbraith argues, "The exercise of power, the submission of one will to the will of others, is inevitable in modern society; nothing whatever is accomplished without it. Power can be malignant; it is also socially essential." One view of power is that its role in society is to resolve the inescapable conflicts of interest that emerge in social groups. In terms of our project, it can be argued that the analysis of how power is used within a society is central to our understanding of the degree to which that society allows its members to pursue their conception of the good life.

Through a discussion with the teachers two essential concerns or questions were crystallized which go to the heart of this issue of power. These questions deal with the roots of political and economic power.

- To what degree is a healthy democracy necessary for living lives we value?
- To what degree is an efficient market economy necessary for living lives we value?

To these questions, we will add a third for this project:

- To what degree is a history of political and economic stability necessary for pursuing lives we value?

STUDENT HANDOUT A

This will allow room for coverage and discussion of societies where the quality of life has been affected through the abuse of power, foreign, imperialistic, tyrannical or otherwise. There are perhaps societies that struggle in promoting the opportunities of freedom necessary for the pursuit of the good life, through no fault of their own, but simply due to a legacy of oppression and the abuse of power.

The last element of the project that requires a word of explanation and defense is the use of the notion of capabilities. This aspect of the project draws heavily from the work of Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen. In his book, *Development as Freedom*, Dr. Sen argues that for people to be able to freely pursue lives which they have reason to value they have must have a set of basic capabilities which enable them to do so. In other words, they must have the ability or capacity to pursue their valued goals if they are to be thought of as free to do so. For example, take the case of infant death mortality in Angola. In Angola, close to one third of all people die before the age of 5. Clearly, this shows that for a large set of people in this country, there is a serious capability they are lacking. Thus, in a very real way, the people in this society are deprived of their ability to pursue a life which they have reason to value. In this project, we will address several other 'capability freedoms' such as, life expectancy, literacy rates, gender inequalities, access to health care and income per capita. By forcing students to examine real life data, it is hoped that their discussion and analysis of the fundamental question will be more informed and meaningful. For those who assume that this data might skew automatically towards western capitalistic countries, Sen offers this compelling and sobering reminder: Life expectancy for African American males in the United States is below many third world nations, societies with access to substantially fewer resources. Thus this population group is suffering from access to one of the most basic capability issues—the ability to live a long life.

In summary, this project will attempt to draw the students into a prolonged analysis and discussion of just what constitutes a good society while the very notion of analysis and judgment can be controversial in today's world, this opportunity is very open-ended and is inherently culturally sensitive in that each culture defines its own set of values. What is being probed is the degree to which societies enable their citizens to pursue lives they value. The analysis of political and economic power will be central to our analysis, as well as at least an introductory examination of some of the historical realities various societies have faced. Allowing students the opportunity to engage in reasoned discussion and analysis of the values and freedoms of our societies must be a crucial component of rich democratic education.

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STUDENT HANDOUT B

Project Assignment Sheet

The 20th century has been described as the age where democracy, for the first time in history, became the dominant form of political organization throughout the world. Often criticized for being weak and ineffective, democracy has won support in ever-increasing numbers of the world's nations at the beginning of the 21st century. Yet many challenges face both emerging and established democracies. Nationalism, poverty and the legacies of foreign imperialism are but a few of the challenges that threaten to undermine the existence of democracy throughout the world. For example, people that suffer from extreme poverty may care less about whether their government is democratic than whether or not they will be able to gain access to needed health care for themselves and their families. Or, people in a country that has suffered from violent civil war for years may be less concerned with having a democratic government than living in a safe society. In other words, people may value things higher than freedom.

In this project we wll analyze the role of freedom in creating and maintaining a society where people are able to pursue lives they value.

- To what degree is a healthy democracy necessary for pursuing lives we value?
- To what degree is a free market economy necessary for pursuing lives we value?
- To what degree is a history of political and economic stability necessary for pursuing lives we value?

Ultimately, we will discuss as a class the following controversial statement:

The quality of a society can be measured by the degree to which its members are able to pursue lives that they value.

Is democracy the answer for the nations of the world? Is the answer a free market economy? Can we compare the quality of life in one society to another? You will be able to address these important issues and more in this project.

STUDENT HANDOUT C

Personal Reflection Essay Assignment Sheet

Now that you have thought about and discussed what you believe to be important values within our society and the type of life you personally desire to live upon graduation, you will be responsible for writing a personal response to the following question:

• What do I need from society in order to live the life I want to?

You must address the following points in your essay:

• What do you value in life, both now and what you think you will value in the future?

• What do you need from society to be able to pursue these things that you value?

Your response can include other elements, but at the least must address the above points.
Try to be as specific as possible in your essay. Your response should be at least one page in length.

STUDENT HANDOUT D

Internet Research Guide

As a group, you will be responsible for completing the following research guide for your country. This information will serve as a basis for both a discussion and a written reflection about your country. Your task is divided into four sections as listed below. Each section will have a short list of 'internet sites' where you win be able to find the necessary information. It would be best to work together as a group on each section, helping each other gather all the needed information, and then move on to the next section.

Research Assignments:

1 Examine the 'capability freedom' within your country based on the factors listed below. Include other factors you think to be important. Compare the information you find with world averages to help you determine the level of 'capability freedom.' The needed information can be found at the following websites (Websites Current as of April 7, 2003):

http://unstats.un.org/unsd (click 'Demographic and Social Statistics' link)

http://milleniumindicators.un.org/unsd/mi/mi.asp (search for your country, click 'World' for averages)

http://worldbank.org/data/wdi2002/worldview.htm
(click 'Size of economy' link for income and economic information)

Factor	In your country	World average
Infant mortality		
Children under 5 mortality rate		
Educational enrollment ratio (male/female)		
Literacy rates (male/female)		
Income per capita		
Other		

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STUDENT HANDOUT D

2 Examine the level of economic freedom within your country.

■ Go to http://heritage.org and click on the "Index of Economic Freedom" link in lower right corner of the home page Search for your country and record the level of economic freedom in the areas listed below. Each area is ranked on a scale of 1-5, with the lower score signifying greater freedom. Examine your country's global ranking to get a sense of it's comparative level of economic freedom

Factor	In your country	Global Ranking
Wages/Prices		
Trade		
Government Intervention		
Property Rights		

Go to http://encyclopedia.com and search for your country. Record any background information your country's economic system that might aid you in understanding it's operation.

3 Examine the level of political freedom within your country. Record two things on your sheet: a brief overview of the political system of your country, and any persistent and recurring violations of human rights and freedoms that might be occurring. The following sites will give you plenty of information to work with.

■ For political system background go to http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook. For a realistic analysis of how the government works in practice go to http://store.eiu.com and search for your country. Select the "product sample" link underneath "Country Report" for an in-depth discussion of current issues facing your country.

■ For human rights issues go to the fo11owing two sites: http://amnesty.org and http://www.hrcr.org. At the amnesty site search for your country on the "Library" link at the top of the home page. At the hrcr site, go to the "National Links" link at the bottom of the home page and search for your country.

4 Examine a recent timeline of events that may have influenced the degree of social stability within your country. Look for any examples of the following: civil unrest, civil war, foreign intervention, famine, hyperinflation, etc.

■ Go to the sites 'encyclopedia.com,' 'cia.gov' and 'store.ciu.com' as described above for information on your country's recent past.

Construct a timeline of am recent events that might relate to the issue of social stability within your country.

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STUDENT HANDOUT E

Final Discussion Guide Sheet

In your country research groups, discuss the following questions. After you have discussed each question, make sure to individually record your impressions and thoughts in the corresponding area on this sheet. Be sure to include evidence from your research in your answers. For example, describe the current status of a specific capability (e.g. gender equality in education) and analyze it in light of either political or economic freedom.

1. How important has political freedom been in influencing the level of 'capability freedom' within your country?

   very important somewhat important not very important

   Defend your position:

2. How important has economic freedom been in influencing the level of 'capability freedom' within your country?

   very important somewhat important not very important

   Defend your position:

3. How important has a history of social stability been in influencing the level of 'capability freedom' within your country?

   very important somewhat important not very important

   Defend your position:

4. Which of the following factors, political freedom, economic freedom or a history of social stability, has been the most influential in determining the level of 'capability freedom' within your country?

STUDENT HANDOUT E

Group Thesis Assignment

In your new groups, there should be at least one representative from each country the class examined. Act as the resource expert for your country for the following set of questions. Remember these questions are the basic questions for the entire project.

• A healthy democracy is necessary for people to live lives that they value.

strongly agree agree neutral disagree strongly disagree

Defend your position:

• A free market economy is necessary for people to live lives that they value.

strongly agree agree neutral disagree strongly disagree

Defend your position:

• A history of political and economic stability is necessary for people to lives live that they value

strongly agree agree neutral disagree strongly disagree

Defend your position:

STUDENT HANDOUT E

After you have written down your responses to the above questions, as a group construct a 'Group Thesis' evaluating the following controversial statement.

The quality of a society can be measured by the degree to which its members are able to pursue lives that they value.

Do you agree or disagree with the statement? How important is political and economic freedom in allowing citizens to pursue lives they value? Use scrap paper to brainstorm ideas and write down your rough draft as a group. Everyone should record the final draft on the back of this sheet.

Lesson prepared by: Andy Hirshman and Susan Theotokatos, Mundelein High School, Chicago, IL
Courtesy of Constitutional Rights Foundation, Chicago

The Five Most Important Problems

Introduction

What are the five most serious problems or challenges facing our country today?

APPROXIMATE LENGTH

1- 2 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

NATIONAL STANDARDS

National Civics Standards—Students should be able to explain the importance of knowledge to competent and responsible participation in American Democracy.

ESSENTIAL PURPOSES

The students will be able to:

- recognize and understand the contemporary public issues that confront their own society.
- evaluate statements about the relative importance of these issues and be able to rank them in order.
- identify and analyze the role of a citizen in relation to the public issues confronting their society.

ESSENTIAL RESOURCES

- Student Handout A "Student Directions."

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 **Working in small groups.** Each group member assumes a role to help the group: Facilitator, Recorder, Reporter, and Timekeeper.

The Facilitator is like the team captain. S/he makes sure that each member of the group is participating and resolves any conflicts. S/he makes sure that the rules for civil conversation (see end of lesson) are followed and that no one person dominates the discussion.

The Recorder is the secretary. S/he records notes on the group's discussion.

The Reporter is the spokesperson for the group. S/he reports the small group's discussion to the larger group.

The Timekeeper keeps time and makes certain that the group accomplishes its task in the time allotted. The Timekeeper helps the Facilitator to prevent any group member from dominating the discussion.

2 **Small Group Activity.**

a. Individually in writing, answer the question "What are the five most serious problems or challenges facing out country today? (TIME: 5 minutes)

b. Share your list with the other members of your group. (TIME: 3 minutes)

c. As a small group, create a list of five problems or challenges with which all members of your group can agree. The Facilitator guides students in discussing the merits of each person's answers. The Recorder writes this group list on a piece of paper and gives it to the Reporter. The Timekeeper reminds group of time elapsed. (TIME: 10 minutes)

3 **Reporting to the class.** The Reporter for each group reads their group's list of five problems or challenges aloud to the class. The teacher writes responses on board and creates a master list of problems of challenges that the class has generated.

ASSESSMENT

Choose one problem or challenge from the class list that you believe is most important to solve. Write an essay saying what YOU individually, or the citizen of your country together can do to address the problem. What should the government do?

STUDENT HANDOUT

Student Directions

"What are the five most serious problems or challenges facing our country today?"

Working in small groups

Each group member assumes a role to help the group—Facilitator, Recorder, Reporter, and Timekeeper.

■ The Facilitator is like the team captain. S/he makes sure that each member of the group is participating and resolves any conflicts. S/he makes sure that the rules for civil conversation are followed and that no one person dominates the discussion.

■ The Recorder is the secretary. S/he records notes on the group's discussion.

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Reporting to the class

The Reporter for each group reads their group's list of five problems or challenges aloud to the class. The teacher writes responses on board and creates a master list of problems of challenges that the class has generated.

STUDENT HANDOUT

Homework assignment

Choose one problem or challenge from the class list that you believe is most important to solve. Write an essay saying what YOU individually, or the citizen of your country together can do to address the problem. What should the government do?

Rules for Civil Conversations

- Everyone in the group should participate in the conversation.
- Listen carefully to what others are saying.
- Ask clarifying questions if you do not understand a point that is raised.
- Be respectful of what others are saying.
- Support your ideas with facts.
- Focus on ideas, not on personalities.

Lesson provided by DEEP Project, Constitutional Rights Foundation, Chicago, IL

Courtesy of Charlotte Anderson and Carolyn Pereira

Is Voting a Right, a Duty, or a Requirement?

Introduction

The purpose of this lesson is to teach students a process of a discussion forum based on the National Issues Forum Model .Each case *will* identify at least three points of view about an issue (three rather than two because two puts the discussion in the form of an "either/or" debate where the objective is to *win* rather than analyze ideas, discuss their basis, and determine how they are like and different.

APPROXIMATE LENGTH

2-3 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

NATIONAL STANDARDS

National Standard for Civics and Government. The student understands basic values and principles of democracy as well as the roles of citizens in a democracy.

National Council for the Social Studies

Themes addressed include: Power, Authority, and Governance Civic Ideals and Practices

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ESSENTIAL PURPOSES

The students will be able to:

- gain knowledge of civic content related to voting.
- apply the process of "civil" civic discussion and deliberation of an issue about which there are multiple viewpoints.
- assess in a pre-writing exercise student's knowledge and viewpoint about the topic "Is Voting a Right, a Duty, or a Requirement ?"
- participate in a discussion forum based on the National Issues Forum Model (NIF).
- analyze and graph data related to voting by age groups in the U.S.
- formulate a viewpoint with evidence, reasons, and examples to support a personal point of view.

ESSENTIAL RESOURCES

- Student HANDOUT #1-Three Points of View: Is Voting a Right, a Duty or a Requirement?
- Student HANDOUT #2 - Graphic Organizer
- Student HANDOUT #3-Data sheet on voting by age groups

TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 As the lesson begins, students will be encouraged to draw on their own perceptions of the meaning of citizenship.

2 The generative topic is the question "Is Voting a Right, a Duty, or a Requirement?" Ask each student to briefly respond to this question in order to gain insight into what each student knows and thinks as the lesson begins. Tell the students we will return to these items at the end of the lesson and the pre/post writing exercise will give them an idea of what they have learned.

4 Divide the class into five research groups to learn the history of extending the vote to various groups through the amendment process (Amendments 15, 19,23,24, and 26).

5 Ask students to form a human time line (give one student a card with the year 1400, another1500, another 1600, up through 2003), Ask these students to stand equal distances apart to form a human time line. Post the time line on the wall. Ask students who have researched each amendment to stand at the approximate date on the time line when their amendment was passed and explain its effect. Have each group send a representative behind the time line to report what the United States was like at the time of the Amendment and which group received the vote as the result of each of the amendments researched.

6 Explain that the class is going to explore the topic of voting further and learn a process for discussing differing viewpoints about voting. Provide each student with HANDOUT #3. Ask each student to plot the percentages on a graph and list facts that can be learned from studying the background information and the data and questions that the data raise.

*[**Examples of facts** - Just over half of the registered voters in the US actually voted. Younger voters have the lowest percentage. Elderly voters outnumber younger voters two to one. Voting increases with age except among the most elderly.*

***Examples of questions** - Are the percentages for younger voters in the 2000 U.S. election typical of the percentages for younger voters in other presidential election years? Why do such a small percentage of younger voters actually vote? Why is the percentage of older voters so much higher? Are these data typical of voters in similar age groups in other countries--democratic and non- democratic?]*

7 Provide each student with HANDOUT #1. Ask each student to read the case background and the three points of view listing the pros and cons of each viewpoint. Explain the NIF discussion process, emphasizing that this model is one that supports civil civic discussion and deliberation so, as individual citizens, people can study and learn about different viewpoints to better inform their own personal viewpoint.

8 Ask students to examine EACH position (one at a time)--looking for pros/cons, evidence, reasons,), and consequences of holding the position. After analyzing and discussing EACH position, ask students to see if there is any common ground across positions. Use HANDOUT #2 as one way to think about the issues. A teacher might decide to share this graphic organizer with students or the teacher may make a similar organizer to keep notes on the board.

9 Ask students to compare any strengths in one or more of the positions, propose ways to extend one or more of the positions, or propose a new position. The point is NOT to vote on the best answer or force consensus. Rather, the NIF model encourages deliberation.

10 Give students the following directions: Choose and defend one of the points of view presented or develop a new point of view about the question. Write a persuasive paragraph or essay. The paragraph should include your point of view and provide reasons or examples to explain why you believe this is the most favorable point of view, and a summary or conclusion. You may use a structure such as the one below for a structured paragraph.

If you write an essay, you will include a paragraph introducing the points of view on the issue, a paragraph stating your position, one or more paragraphs to include reasons and examples why you hold this view, and a concluding paragraph. Feel free to add as much detail as you can to the brief suggested structure below.

Sample

Is Voting a Right, a Duty, or a Requirement?

People hold different viewpoints about voting. Some believe it is a right, others that it is a duty, and still others that it ought to be required by law.

My position is:

I believe this because (reasons/examples):

Thus, for these reasons, citizens (conclusion):

FOR ADVANCED STUDENTS:

Conduct research individually or in a small group to learn the answer to questions such as these about voting in other nations of the world:

Is Voter Turnout a World Wide Problem?

- How serious is the problem of voter turnout in other nations of the world?
- Provide students with data on world wide voter turnout and ask them to graph the data.
- Develop a hypothesis to explain why the turnout may be different in some nations. [The Federal Election Commission's International Voter Turnout data will help you extend research.]

Ask students to research the pros/cons and consequences of EACH of the following positions so that class can hold an NIF-style discussion about this issue. The Youth Vote, published by The Carnegie Corporation of NY is a useful resource and is available at: http://www.carnegie.org/reporter/02/vote2000/vote.html]

Do you consider voter turnout in democracies to be (choose one)

- a problem and a crisis
- a problem but no crisis
- only one indicator of the health of a democracy

After the discussion; write a well-supported personal position on the issue to include an introduction to the various points of view, pros/cons, and consequences of the one the student has selected as a personal point of view with reasons for the selection, and a conclusion.

ASSESSMENT

This lesson includes several types of assessment:

- (Formal/Ongoing) The pre writing exercise will provide evidence of what students know as the lesson begins. Column one at the top is used as "benchmark" data to determine each student's prior knowledge and at the bottom is used to learn a student's initial views before study or discussion.
- (Formal) The ability of the student to translate voting data into a graph, list observations, and raise questions provides evidence of a student's ability to understand, manipulate and use data.
- (Informal/Ongoing) Each research group will be assessed based on the accuracy of their description of U.S. history at the time of the amendment they studied and the group that received the vote as the result of the Amendment.

STUDENT HANDOUT 1

THREE POINTS OF VIEW: IS VOTING A RIGHT, A DUTY, OR A REQUIREMENT?

Background: In the United States, citizens 18 years or older have the right to vote as guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution. In most states voters must also register (give proof of citizenship and address) before they participate in their first election and they must register again any time they move. Although citizens have the right to vote and some citizens even see voting as a civic duty, many do not vote. The lowest voter turnout in the U.S is among the nation's youngest eligible voters. Others are concerned that citizens do not view voting as an important civic duty. Still other people have suggested that citizens should be required to vote (at least to go to the polls during elections) as they are in many countries of the world. Read and think about the questions that follow as you read three different viewpoints about voting.

Viewpoint I--Voting is a Right

VOTER X STATES:

Living in a democracy is a privilege, but democracy means freedom--freedom to choose whether I vote or not. I believe that the freedom to choose is a right that is just as important as the right to vote. It is clear that in a democracy, people often have good reasons for wanting to vote--the outcome is important to them. They believe they can make a positive difference in their own lives and the lives of other citizens, and they want to participate in a democratic process. However, sometimes there may be good reasons not to vote-.feeling you are on a side that is bound to lose no matter what you do, not having enough information about issues or candidates, or not being interested in the specific candidates or issues in a particular election. When people know enough and care enough, they will vote. I think citizens should be encouraged to vote, but it is their right to decide whether to exercise that right or not. Voting is a right.

Viewpoint 2--Voting is a Duty

VOTER Y SAYS:

People like the benefits of democracy. They like to live in a land where citizens can participate in the government, can choose those who represent them, and can have a voice in the outcome of issues. In fact, citizens have a duty to help make choices important to our democratic system by voting. I think if citizens want to enjoy the benefits of democracy, they should give something back. They owe participation through voting as a duty of citizenship. Information on candidates and issues is more available today than ever before. It takes effort, but a citizen can be informed. Our democracy, just over 200 years old, is still a fragile experiment. Democracy won't survive if citizens don't take an interest in it and one way to do that is to vote. We all know stories about how the outcome of an election was decided by even just one vote. I believe voting is a civic duty.

Viewpoint 3-Voting Is Important Enough to Require It

VOTER Z SAYS:

Twenty or more countries require or have "compulsory voting" laws, Of course; they can't really require a person to vote, but countries can require citizens to go to the polls or pay a fine unless they have a valid reason. Some countries exclude elderly or ill citizens from the compulsory voting law, Repeated absence at the polls may cause citizens in

STUDENT HANDOUT 1

some countries to lose their citizenship, At times, requiring people to go to the polls has been associated with non-democratic governments , but nations like Australia, Belgium, Luxembourg and other democracies have also required citizens to go to the polls. Before Australia made this requirement, the turnout was about 4%, but in the decades since has gone as high as 94-96%. By requiring citizens to go to the polls, the voter must make a deliberate decision--to mark the ballot or not. Citizens in the United States and other countries are required to pay taxes, attend school and serve on juries. Voting is no less important. I think that voting is important enough to be a required civic action.

QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER ABOUT EACH OF THREE VIEWPOINTS:

- What is each person's viewpoint? State it in your own words.
  - What reason(s) does each person give for his/her viewpoint?
  - List three to five questions you have about each position that will require further research.
  - Conduct research to find answers to your questions and list new questions for each of the three positions that your research raises.
  - What are the pros and cons of each position?
  - What are the consequences of adopting each of the positions?
- How are the three viewpoints alike and different?
- Can you think of opinions other than these three viewpoints that people might have on this issue?
- What is your opinion? Provide data, examples, and reasons you have for holding this opinion?

Additional Questions for Discussion:

Challenging extensions for additional research, reflection, and discussion are:

1 Ask students to research the history of voting rights in one or more nations and consider whether this research has caused a change in their own viewpoint about voting and whether going to the polls should be required.

2 Who does a vote belong to? Is a vote yours to sell? Ask students to read the account of a man who, in August before the November 2000 election in the United States, put his vote on e-Bay saying that he would vote as the highest bidder directed him. <http://fyi.cnn.com/2000/fyi/news/08/17/vote.sale/> Ask students to investigate the legality of such an action and discuss why a person might do this, what this indicates the person thinks about voting, and what their own views are about this action.

3 Ask students to think of a list of criteria a voter should impose on himself/herself before voting. Ask students whether these criteria should be required of all citizens

4 Ask students to research another issue recently debated: whether the Pledge of Allegiance should be declared unconstitutional and not allowed in public schools of the United States or required as it is in several states. Ask students to consider whether saying the Pledge of Allegiance is a right, duty, or should be required by law.

See National Association of School Principals for background on this issue.

<http://www.principals.org/services/legal_pledgeall.html.>

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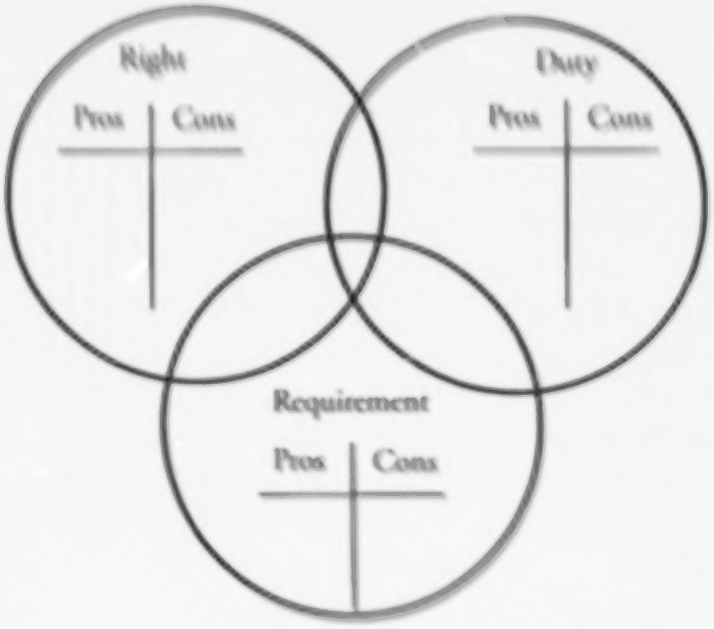
STUDENT HANDOUT 2: THREE POINTS OF VIEW
(A graphic organizer for the NIF discussion)

IS VOTING A RIGHT, A DUTY, OR A REQUIREMENT?



What similarities do you find among the three positions?

What additional questions do these three points of view raise?

With which positions above (or what new positions not represented above) do you build? Why?

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STUDENT HANDOUT 3

International Voter Turnout for 1997 or 1998

(Students will convert data into a graph.)

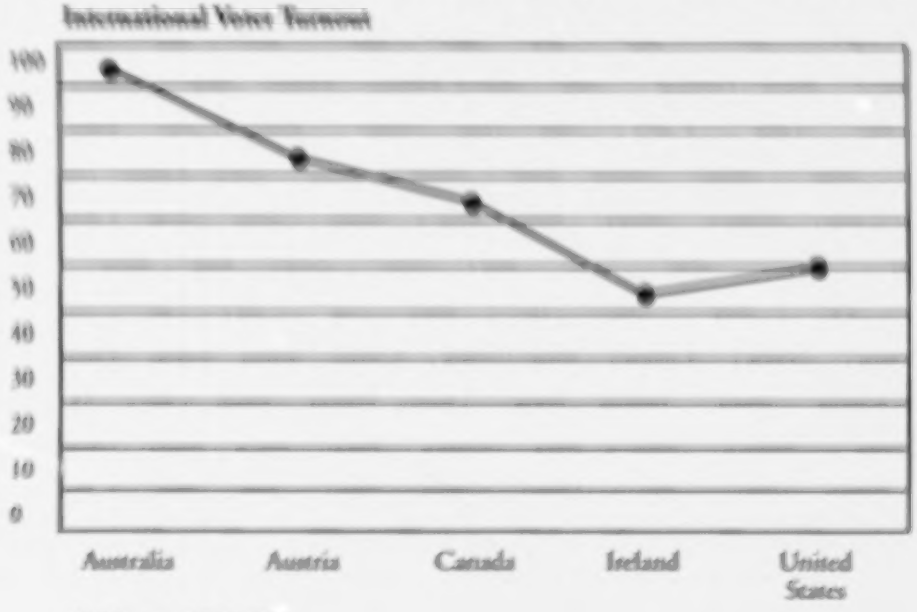
From Federal Election Commission http://www.fec.gov/votregis/fuscout/IDA.htm

Statistics courtesy of The International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) and various national election commissions.

(Students receive data below and either hand-draw or use a computer program to graph the results).

Nation	% Voters '97 or '98	Election	Year
Australia	95.2	Legislative	1998
Austria	74.4	Presidential	1998
Canada	67	General	1997
Ireland	47.6	Presidential	1997
United States	51.5	General	1998

Student graphs may look like the one below or data may be presented in another type of graph.



% Voters, 1997-98.

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Each One Teach One

Introduction

This strategy allows the participants to become part of the instruction. Be sure to give them some time to read their fact and consider the best way to teach it. You might want to demonstrate by teaching one fact before they begin.

APPROXIMATE LENGTH

1 class periods

Grade Level

Middle/Secondary School

NATIONAL STANDARDS

National History Standards: Standards in Historical Thinking #3: Historical Analysis and Interpretation. 1. Formulate questions to focus inquiry and analysis, and 2. Compare and contrast differing sets of ideas, values, personalities, behaviors, and institutions by identifying likenesses and differences.

ESSENTIAL PURPOSES

The students will be able to:

- To get an overview of concepts and facts to be learned or to review
- To reinforce the importance of the research.
- To raise questions and interest.

ESSENTIAL RESOURCES

- Student Handout: "Facts About Democracy in the U.S. and CEE/NIS Countries."
- Make multiple copies of "Facts About Democracy" sheet and cut individual facts into strips or have sufficient 3 x 5 cards with "Facts" printed on them (1 card per participant).

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 Prepare fact cards or fact strips. Each card should contain one piece of information or fact that the participant will share with other participants.

2 Hand out one fact card to each participant on a random basis. Either give everyone a different fact or select facts (which would give two or three people the same information to teach). With larger classes, divide the students into two groups, then distribute the same set of facts to each group.

3 Participants (individually or paired) should spend a few minutes reading the information on the fact card. Each person has ten minutes to "teach" or transfer his knowledge **verbally and individually** to as many other participants as possible and also to listen in order to learn facts from the other participants. The participants should be encouraged to give an example or raise a question about the information on the card. The teacher should circulate around the room to help with activity.

ASSESSMENT

Debriefing the whole activity can be done by asking a series of questions. Do not allow the person who taught the fact to answer the question, only those who learned it. Turn to the fact "teacher" to check whether the fact was understood correctly. Generate question suggestions:

- What did you learn about. . . ?
- What did you learn that surprised you?
- What information is not clear?
- What questions do you have? How might we findout the answer? What information did you learn best?

FACTS ABOUT DEMOCRACY IN THE U.S. AND CEE/NIS COUNTRIES

Not all systems of justice are the same. In the U.S. a person is presumed innocent. The state has to prove that the person did commit the crime. In some countries the accused must prove he/she did not commit the crime.

Until recently, most courts in the U.S. required every member of a jury to agree in order to find a person guilty. Some European countries have not required unanimous decisions. In those countries there are fewer retrials.

The U.S. Constitution specifies a four-year term for President and a subsequent amendment allows the President to serve only two terms. The Uzbek Constitution limits the President to five years. However current President Islam Karimov has been in office since 1990 due to several referendums. Many predict he will be president for life.

To be an Estonian citizen a baby born in that country must have at least one parent who is a citizen of Estonia at the time of the child's birth. With few exceptions, even if parents are not U.S. citizens, a baby born in the United States is automatically a U.S. citizen.

The U.S. is one of the few countries to still allow the death penalty. Countries who belong to the European Union may not sentence a person to death. Therefore, any Eastern European country applying to be come a member of the European Union must not have a death penalty.

The Romany, a traditionally nomadic ethnic group, makes up approximately 3% of the Czech Republic, but even though they were born there, they often do not consider themselves Czech.

Freedom of speech in the U.S., although not without limitations, does allow hate speech to be heard. Some CEE/NIS countries have outlawed speech that advocates hate—such as speech preaching a superior race.

The right to a jury trial is not universally recognized as core to a democracy.

In 1995 the Armenian National Assembly passed a law making non-ethnic Armenian refugees who have lived in Armenia for three years and can communicate in the Armenian language eligible to obtain citizenship.

Both the European Union and NATO require that any country wishing to join must take into consideration the difficulties faced by their minority communities.

Rating the Nation

Introduction

Which characteristics of a free society are most important in determining if that country or society is democratic? In answering this central question, students will identify and explain fundamental concepts of democracy, with the emphasis placed on equality of all citizens under the law, the fundamental worth and dignity of the individual, majority rule and minority rights, the necessity of compromise, individual freedom and the rule of law. Students will also compare the United States political and economic systems with those of major democratic and authoritarian nations.

APPROXIMATE LENGTH

2-3 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

NATIONAL STANDARDS

National History Standards: Standards in Historical Thinking #3: Historical Analysis and Interpretation. 1. Formulate questions to focus inquiry and analysis, and 2. Compare and contrast differing sets of ideas, values, personalities, behaviors, and institutions by identifying likenesses and differences.

ESSENTIAL PURPOSES

The students will be able to:

- List characteristics of a free society.
- Prioritize the characteristics in determining the totality of freedom in a country
- Compare the characteristics of a free society of newly independent nations with those of early U.S. society.

ESSENTIAL RESOURCES

- Nation Rating Worksheet -HANDOUT A
- Country Descriptions HANDOUT B

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

1 To get students to review the meaning of the term "freedom," write one of the following quotes on the board. "Democracy is like blowing your nose. You may not do it well, but it's something you ought to do yourself." [G.K. Chesterton] or "Democracy does not create strong ties between people. But is does make living together easier." [Alexis de Tocqueville].

2 Have students read the quote and create a visualization of the meaning of the quote in their notebooks. There should be at least three symbols and 10 words that relate to the quote. After a few minutes, ask students to share their choice of symbols and words in rapid order. Review the list to see if there are any recurring symbols, words or themes that emerged. Explain to students that they will now have a chance to use their knowledge of what it means to be a democratic nation to judge the level of freedom in other countries.

3 Distribute HANDOUT A and ask students to rate the early United States. Explain that they will be asked to do some more thinking about the term "free" as it relates to new independent nations. Collect these HANDOUTS.

4 Give each student a country description to use for the exercise. Descriptions can be given out randomly but it should be set up so that 3 to 4 students receive the same country.

5 Provide another copy of HANDOUT A to students and ask them to read the country descriptions and answer the questions. When students are finished, group students by country and have them discuss and compare information. Consensus among group members should be reached on the last question.

6 Ask a representative for each group to share decision for rating with at least three reasons why the group made the decision and a report of any inconsistencies there might be.

7 As closure, ask students to again evaluate the United States in its formative stages to these countries and determine a rating. Hand back their original rating sheet. Did their rating of the United States change? Why or why not? Were there new issues that arose as part of the group discussion?

TEACHER'S NOTES

Key content points to include in discussion/activities:

- Democracies allow for evolution of process and content.
- Democracies are judged by how well they protect the rights of minority groups or opposition parties.
- Democracy can not happen without a period of transition that often involves conflicting interests and views that can and often does lead to violence.
- As a new country, the United States would not have gotten a high rating when looking at the treatment of minority groups, people without property, and balloting but U.S. citizens considered themselves to be very democratic in comparison to other nations of the time and of today.

ASSESSMENT

Teacher observation and assessment of classroom discussion and group participation; Nation Rating worksheet

ADAPTATION/EXTENSIONS

Use United Nations website, www.un.org, to investigate with students the criteria for membership in the organization and whether or not they think each of the nations studied would be accepted in by the other member nations if democracy were the sole criterion for judgment.

Use the rating scale throughout the year to assess the level of freedom within countries that are studied.

- If available, reveal the most recent rating that "Freedom House" [www. freedomhouse.org] gave to each of the countries. Continue to track current events related to the countries studied, reassessing the rating that Freedom House reported over time.
- Use library resources (periodicals and newspapers) to research the leaders of various countries discussed and read about in class. Compare leader with leaders of early United States government in terms of motivation and background (i.e. membership in minority group, educational level, social/economic status).

STUDENT HANDOUT A

RATING A NATION FORM

To assess the amount of freedom that is allowed within a given country, various characteristics of their society need to be evaluated. When rating countries, *Freedom House* uses three categories:

Democratization: The fairness and openness of the election process including allowance of multiple political parties and the participation of the public; the growth of non-governmental organizations (i.e. unions, lobbying groups); free press including access to information via the Internet.

Rule of Law: Ability to reform the Constitution of the country; protection of human rights; judicial independence from outside influences; status of minority rights within the country; set up of government to prevent top law and decision makers from being influenced by outside influences; perception of level of corruption in the government.

Economic Liberalization: Ability of citizens to own and profit from industry; degree of regulation of businesses; rate of unemployment; types and process of taxation and trade.

Using these categories you will need to rate a country currently going through the democratization process much as the United States went through in the early years of its creation. Begin by selecting one of the countries on the attached list. A folder with research documents will be given to you by your teacher. Use the materials to answer the questions focusing on the three categories listed above. At the end of each section you will need to rate the country for the category investigated. The rating should be based on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 representing the highest and 7 representing the lowest level of democratic process. At the end of the worksheet you average the three ratings to determine an overall rating for the country.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Name of the country:

_____

Category 1- Democratization:

Are multiple political parties allowed to support candidates?

If listed, what percentage of the population participated in the last election?

Is there freedom of assembly, demonstration, and open public discussion?

Are there free trade unions and peasant organizations or equivalents, and is there effective collective bargaining?

Does the government own or control the major newspapers within the country? Television stations? Radio stations?

After reviewing the answers to the above questions, circle the score the country in your estimation best represents the level of democratization.

Free					Partly Free					Not Free	
1	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5	4	4.5	5	5.5	6	6.5	7

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STUDENT HANDOUT A

Category 2 - Rule of Law:

Is there an independent judiciary?

Is the population treated equally under the law?

Are police under direct civilian control?

Is there protection from unjustified imprisonment, exile or torture?

Is there freedom from extreme government indifference and corruption?

After reviewing the answers to the above questions, circle the score the country in your estimation best represents the level of freedom under the country's rule of law.

Free						Partly Free						Not Free
1	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5	4	4.5	5	5.5	6	6.5	7

STUDENT HANDOUT A

Category 3 - Economic liberalization:

Does the state control travel, choice of residence, or choice of employment?

Do citizens have the right to establish private businesses?

Is private business activity greatly influenced by government officials, the security forces, or organized crime?

Is there equality of opportunity, including freedom from exploitation by landlords, employers, union leaders, or bureaucrats?

After reviewing the answers to the above questions, circle the score the country in your estimation best represents the level of economic liberalization.

Free							Partly Free						Not Free
1	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5	4	4.5	5	5.5	6	6.5	7	

STUDENT HANDOUT A

OVERALL SCORE:

Add the three numbers you circled above and then divide by 3 to determine the average score in the space below.

Score: _____

If the score falls between 1 and 2.5 then your country is rated as a free country.

If the score falls between 2 and 5 then your country is rated as a partly free country.

If the score falls between 5.5 and 7 then the country is not free.

Explain three reasons why the rating your country earned is justified.

1.

2.

3.

Are there any areas that stand out as different than the rating? For example, if the overall score puts the country in the range for a "free" rating, were there any reasons why it would be rated as partly free or not free? Explain.

During the class discussion you will given the Freedom House rating for your country. In the space below, indicate if the rating is different and, if it is different, why you think the rating differed.

Which of the three categories used for determining the rating do you believe is most important to consider ? Why?

STUDENT HANDOUT B

Democracy Rankings in Eastern and Central Europe and the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union.

Consolidated Democracies (most democratic to least democratic)

Poland	Latvia
Slovenia	Slovakia
Lithuania	Czech. Republic
Estonia	Bulgari
Hungary	Croatia

Consolidated Autocracies (least autocratic to most autocratic)

Uzbekistan

Belarus

Turkmenistan

Transitional Governments (most democratic to least democratic)

Romania	Bosnia
Yugoslavia	Ukraine
Albania	Russia
Macedonia	Kyrgyz Republic
Moldova	Azerbaijan
Georgia	Tajikistan
Armenia	Kazakhstan

Source: Nations in Transit (Freedom House, 2002).

Freedom Writer

Introduction

How do geographic features and natural resources help a nation become self-determining?

Do differences between cultural and ethnic groups within a country hinder the democratization process?

In answering these central questions students will analyze how certain cultural characteristics can link or divide regions, in terms of language, ethnic heritage, religion, political philosophy, social and economic systems, and shared history. They will also analyze past and present trends in human migration and cultural interaction as they are influenced by social, economic, political and environmental factors and the forces of conflict and cooperation as they influence the way in which the world is divided among independent countries and dependencies.

APPROXIMATE LENGTH

3-4 class periods

Grade Level

Secondary

NATIONAL STANDARDS

National Civics Standards—What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs? How has the United States influenced other nations, and how have other nations influenced American politics and society?

ESSENTIAL PURPOSES

The students will be able to:

- Identify the geographic features of the region of East Central Europe and one country in particular
- Describe the impact that the geography of the chosen country has had on its development as a new nation
- Explain the political relationship between the chosen country and other surrounding countries.
- Evaluate the power that various groups within a nation have in the political structure of the country in which they live.

ESSENTIAL RESOURCES

- World Fact Book Country Sheets
- Library resources on selected countries
- Atlas set for student use
- Activity Description Sheet

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TEACHING STRATEGIES

■ Ask students to brainstorm independently all of the different professions/jobs related to geography or history that they can think of. After a two-minute session, ask students to pick the most unique or interesting one on their list to share. Discuss their choices and explain that each of their job selections involves much more than understanding geography and history and most of them involve communicating about the geography and history so that others can use it. Use the procedure below to show that they will be investigating one country in the region more closely.

OR

■ Draw or place three different picture maps on the chalkboard using various symbols for geographic features such as lakes, rivers, plateaus, mountains, etc. Each picture map should show a different climate with 3 to 4 important resources (i.e. oil, cash crops, minerals.) Ask students to pick one of the pictures and describe the lifestyles of a person that lives in that area including what types of food they are likely to find in abundance, what types of jobs could be related to what they see on the map. Have student share answers. Discuss with students if there was one picture that represented the geography of their own area.

■ After completing lessons on general geography and history of the region, students will select one country to analyze. Distribute and discuss HANDOUT A with the class. Use materials gathered in the classroom and independently to complete the assignment.

TEACHER'S NOTE

At the conclusion of this assignment, students should understand the following general ideas:

- East Central Europe has been a relatively unstable area of the world during the last century.
- Ethnic minorities have not been given fair representation in most newly formed governments, but have increasingly fought for recognition and power. Distinctly different ethnic and cultural groups existing within various countries in East Central Europe are not all represented in the governments of the countries in which they live.
- Geography and natural resources of a country can play a large role in the stability of its government.
- The relationships between the newly formed nations of East Central Europe and Russia vary greatly.

ASSESSMENT

- Participation in class discussion and work time related to activity.
- Complete Freedom Forum Booklet.

ADAPTATION/EXTENSIONS

- Ask students to present their booklets in small groups, having students use a blank map of the region as a note-taking device. Legal size paper would best allow for students to write on the countries themselves two to three key points that should be remembered about the presented countries. A jigsaw method could be used to group and regroup the students for this extension.
- Change the format of the product into a group documentary on a particular country. Students would be required to divide the topics into equal parts and present the information to the rest of class. All students would need to keep a comparison chart focusing on geographic features, ethnic groups, representation and relationships with other countries in the region.
- When studying other regions of the world, ask students to compare the representation of cultural or ethnic minority groups within the countries studied. Students that have recently immigrated from Southeast Asia or Central or South America could share their own knowledge of groups within their own countries.
- Using the structure of a basic grading rubric, have students create criteria for evaluating the booklets. Students can do an exchange with another person with the same country or have the teacher assign booklets for review anonymously.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION BOOKLETS

You have been hired as a consultant to Freedom House, a non-partisan group that monitors and reports on freedom across the world. The assignment is to write informational booklets on newly formed countries in East Europe and/or Central Asia. You are thrilled because the assignment will allow you to use general information on the region that you've already studied while showcasing your brilliant thinking and analyzing skills. If you do well on this assignment, you know they'll hire you for bigger jobs in the future!

To begin:

■ Look through the information you already have on the countries of East Europe and/or Central Asia and select one country that especially interests you. Read and do research about the country so that you can include the following in your pamphlet:

- A map of the region that highlights the selected country. This may be your cover or it can be on the inside of the booklet.
- A brief explanation of the advantages and/or disadvantages of its geography.
- A timeline of the selected countries governmental/ political history dating from 1980 to the present.
- A brief explanation of how the selected country became independent including information about the relationship this country had with the former Soviet Union and has today with Russia.
- A description of the countries resources and how those resources are being utilized i.e. if the country has a large supply of oil but is unable to get the oil to market this would be a notable problem
- A description of the various ethnic and cultural groups that make up the population and whether those groups have created a national identity or remain distinct and distant from each other.
- A bibliography so that readers can get more information if they so desire.

Put your booklet together:

- Begin by completing rough drafts of each written piece.
- Have your writing edited by a colleague.
- Create a mock up of your booklet, showing where any pictures or graphics will be placed.
- Begin putting together your final booklet.
- Booklets should be colorful and may include images from various Internet or software products as long as each is properly cited.
- Proofread your final product before turning it in to Freedom House. Check for content, format, grammar and spelling.

STUDENT HANDOUT A

You will be given _____ days in class to work on your assignment with the final booklet due on _____.

I would use all of the countries in the region rather than limit the students to those on your shortened list. If you want to provide a list of countries to the students rather than having them use a unit generated list then on the above, I would put this instead:

- Select one country that especially interests you. If you are unable to make a selection, Freedom House will assign one to you from the list provided on the back of this description sheet.

Development of Democracy and Free Markets: A Brave New World

Introduction

The transition from a planned economy to a free market economy is no easy task, especially for senior citizens who have lived their entire life in a planned economy. The transition from a planned economy to a free market economy can be done quickly as in Poland or the transition can be more gradual like Hungary. This lesson introduces students to the difficulties of changing from a planned economy to free markets, and from one-party socialism to multi-party democracy. In order to highlight the difficulties of this monumental transition, perspectives from average citizens are used.

APPROXIMATE LENGTH

3 class periods

Grade Level

9-12

NATIONAL STANDARDS

National Civics Standards—Students should be able to evaluate, take, and defend positions about the effects of significant international political developments on the United States and other nations.

ESSENTIAL PURPOSES

The students will be able to:

- Describe the various hardships people must face when their economic and political life is radically changed.
- Identify the pros and cons of the transitions to democracy and free markets.

ESSENTIAL RESOURCES

- HANDOUT A "Perspectives on Capitalism"
- HANDOUT B "Perspectives on Democracy"

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PROCEDURE

1 Begin the lesson by asking students what they know about current events in Russia, Poland, Ukraine, Georgia, The Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, and/or Lithuania. What is the economic situation like? Is democracy being developed?

2 Next, explain to them that for 370 million people, citizens of the former Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Bulgaria, the transition from an economic and political system installed by Josef Stalin is an enormous and painful task. Stalin imposed economies controlled by the government, state-owned businesses, one-party political systems, large amounts of government censorship of the mass media, and oppression of those who dissented. To change to an economic and political system similar to the United States and Western Europe is extremely difficult, confusing, and frightening. Ask students how they would react if suddenly their political and economic systems were replaced by new and unfamiliar rules, prices of everything tripled and any job security their parents had before was tossed out the window.

3 Divide the class into two groups, the "Procapitalism" and the "Conservative" Explain that each group will read only their half of each handout, and that they will be responsible for summarizing the views of the people in their half of the handout, i.e., the "Conservative" group will read only the comments by the "Conservatives" and they will summarize only that viewpoint. Explain that the comments on the handouts are from ordinary people who have experienced living under the Soviet system, and are now living in relative freedom.

4 Distribute HANDOUT A to all students and allow them time to read it.

5 After it has been digested, facilitate a discussion between the two opposing groups focusing on the pros and cons of each side. What are the pros of moving toward a capitalist economic system? What are the cons? What are the hardships? Who will have the most difficult time? Bring out the opposing viewpoints in order to highlight the difficult and problematic nature of such a transition.

6 Repeat this format the next day with HANDOUT B. But, change the groups around so that the students are exposed to both a pro-change and a conservative perspective.

7 To conclude this lesson, discuss the following questions:

- Who will have the hardest transition, the elderly or the young? Why?
- What is an example of "economic chaos"?
- How can the rest of the world ease the transition?
- What advice would you give a person who is not happy about the transition to free markets and democracy?

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STUDENT HANDOUT A

PERSPECTIVES ON CAPITALISM

PROCAPITALISM

"I am making more money now, mostly German marks and U.S. dollars, than when the Communist Party was in charge of the economy. I like the move to capitalism and less state control."

• *Evgeni Kardovsky, Taxi Driver, Minsk, Belarus*

"The change from Soviet socialism to western style capitalism is very difficult, especially for people of my parents, of Stalin's, generation. But I think Russia must change its economy, no matter how difficult. "

• *Galina Balenova, School Teacher Smolensk, Russia*

"I am very comfortable with the changes being made in the economy. They allow us to have more control of the price of our crude oil. Also, I am taking home forced more profit."

• *Boris Dolgoruki, Oil Field Worker Irkusk, Siberia*

"Since the fall of the Communist Party (August 1991), our hospital has received more foreign-made surgical instruments and other medical supplies than ever before. We need foreign aid and technology in our hospitals. I also hope to get paid more under the new conditions. "

• *Marina Avrashova, Pediatrician Kiev, Ukraine*

CONSERVATIVE

"Everything is more expensive now and petrol can be hard to get. Also, getting repair parts for my truck is hard because so many factories have shut down. It is economic chaos."

• *Nikolai Smerldn, Truck, St. Petersburg, Russia*

"The changes are ruining our economy. All transactions have been reduced to the barter. I cannot run my factory; I can 't get the needed materials to produce anything. At least before the economy worked."

• *Pavel Vukovsky, Factory Manager Volgograd, Russia*

"I was laid off because our factory did not get enough cloth to operate. There are no job openings for me. The cost of food has tripled in the last two months. I will be onto the street if these trends continue."

• *Irina Ulyanova, Unemployed Factor Worker Moscow, Russia*

"The living conditions for our Army officers and their troops are horrible. Since August 1991, everything has deteriorated for us. My men and I cannot go back home because there are no apartments for us. All the changes to the economy have disrupted everything. "

• *Ivan Garenkov, Army Officer Kaliningrad" Russia*

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STUDENT HANDOUT B

PERSPECTIVES ON DEMOCRACY

PRO - DEMOCRACY

"I am excited for Russia's future. We need more democracy in our political system. For over 75 years we have had only one political party. It is time we introduced competitive elections."

• *Konstantin Lermatov, Bus Driver Gorky, Russia*

"Democracy must be allowed to develop or we will always remain a backward country. History has proven Communism wrong. The Communists had too many leaders who were not responsive to the people."

• *Josef Boronodsky, University Student Moscow, Russia*

"I hope that democracy allows us to elect the best leaders for our country. Most of the rest of Europe is democratic and I think Latvia should be too. We just need time to make it work."

• *Inga Bierkerte, Translator Riga, Latvia*

"We must introduce democratic changes and have multiparty elections. Since 1917 Communists have controlled everything and that is why Russia is in such bad shape."

• *Larissa Turgenova, Store Clerk St. Petersburg, Russia*

CONSERVATIVE

"The Ukraine has no experience with democracy. The same people who were Communists are now claiming to be democrats. Wolfs in sheep's clothing. If this is democracy, the West can keep it."

• *Ludmilla Petrova, Nurse Kharkov, Ukraine*

"This is no time for a social experiment. Our country needs firm leadership. That is our most pressing need, not the introduction of an unfamiliar political system from the West."

• *Alexander Mogadev, Pensioner Moscow, Russia*

"Democracy is an empty word in this country. We do not know how it works. So far, democracy has only disrupted everything. Our political leaders only argue and nothing accomplished. At least before our political system worked."

• *Yuri Polnakov, Airplane Pilot Moscow, Russia*

"Democracy has not worked in Russia. Too much chaos and uncertainty. We need strong leaders to step forward and put an end to this experiment."

• *Dimitri Gubenov, Engineer Novosibirsk, Russia*

Additional Resources

APPENDIX

A. Comprehensive Social Studies Assessment Project Standards

B. CSSAP – Portfolio Project

C. Title VI Centers with Teacher Resources

D. Democracy Education Exchange Project (DEEP)

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Major Themes from Civics, History Related to the Democratic Process

The following themes and concepts have been agreed upon by half the states in the United States as a part of the Comprehensive Social Studies Assessment Project (CSSAP). These themes were drawn from the civics, economics, geography and history standards of these states from1996-2002. Additionally, these themes can be matched to every state that has social studies standards. Please note that in each of the lessons provided within this volume there is a space available for the individual teacher to enter in the specific national, state or local standard of learning required. Standards are never meant to be very specific, and teachers must use their own professional judgment.

Connecting Themes and Concepts to Content: The democratization of the former Soviet states is a very complicated, yet highly significant, process that strongly affects the future for all of us. Studying this topic is, by its very nature, an interdisciplinary effort. However, most classrooms are organized by subject areas (such as civics and history). For that reason the themes and concepts below are organized into civics, economics, geography and history. As you begin studying democratization of the former Soviet states with your students you can accomplish two goals. First, they can learn the big ideas that are vital to understanding our democracy, and second, their global perspective can be broadened through an appreciation of how their democratic concepts have meaning in societies that are working toward a better way of life.

Civic Themes and Concepts to be taught and learned:

1. Principles and ideas of democracy
Concepts: Authority, common good, democracy, diversity, equality, general welfare, human dignity, ideals, individual rights, justice, law, liberty, majority rule, minority rights, patriotism, popular sovereignty, self government, values of democracy, values, shared.

2. Civic life, politics, and governance systems.
Concepts: Citizen, civic dispositions, civic virtue, civic life, civil society, national identity, political culture, political identity, political parties, political system, politics, power, public agenda, public life, sovereignty, unlimited government.

3. Relationships among governments and people that cross national boundaries.
Concepts: Collective security, foreign policy, human rights, international organizations, international law, nation state/national sovereignty.

4. Roles, Rights, privileges and responsibilities of citizens.
Concepts: Citizenship, due process rights, equal protection, leadership, participation, public service, civic responsibility, personal responsibility, rights, economic, rights, personal, rights, political, and volunteerism.

Economic Themes and Concepts to be taught and learned:

1. Economic systems
Concepts: Command economy, distribution, economic system, market economy, production, societal goals, traditional economic systems.

2. Economic interdependence
Concepts: Balance of systems, barriers to trade, comparative advantage, exchange rates, interdependence, international aspects of growth and stability, money, specialization, voluntary exchange.

Geographic Themes and Concepts to be taught and learned:

1. Places, regions, locations.
Concepts: Cultural change, cultural identity, formal regions, cultural regions, people's perception of places and regions, physical characteristics of places, regional change.
2. Human Systems (spatial perspective)
Concepts: Acculturation, assimilation, communication systems, conflict, cooperation, cultural beliefs, cultural cohesion, cultural mosaics, developing countries, development, diffusion, economic impact, energy, human resources, interdependence, migration, pollution, population change, pull and push factors, regional alliance, state sovereignty, subsistence-commercial-agriculture, trade, urbanization.

Historical Themes and Concepts to be taught and learned:

1. Change and Continuity in Political Systems
Concepts: Democracy, dictatorships, independence, nation, nationalism, socialism, communism.

2. Interactions of people, cultures, and ideas.
Concepts: Belief systems, change, class, conflict, continuity, encounters, equality, ethnicity, indigenous, inequality, integration, interdependence, pluralism, race, racism, religious and ethnical systems, secular, social hierarchies, social structure, toleration, multiculturalism, national identity, diversity, integration.

3. Economic and Technological Changes
Concepts: Capitalism, collectivization, command economy, economic development, economic growth, economic systems, entrepreneurship, exchange, industrialization, interdependence, revolution, specialization, trade, traditional economy.

4. Comparative history of major developments.
Concepts: Demographic trends, diasporas, diffusion of cultural and political information, environmental degradation, empire, global, global transformations, globalization, human rights, humanism, migrations, postindustrial, regionalism, revolution, secularism, universalism, western-educated elites.

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Portfolio: Comprehensive Social Studies Assessment Project (CSSAP)

A portfolio is a purposeful collection of student work that tells the story of a student's efforts, progress or achievement. Portfolios provide a variety of ways for students to demonstrate their skills and knowledge. They are student and classroom-centered and involve the student with real classroom work. Portfolios require the student to reflect on the meaning of their work. Students begin a portfolio with a content topic and specific skills for looking at that content topic and evaluate their work using four criteria.

The CSSAP Portfolio process has five **entry points** or ways to look at the content topics that are being studied.

■ **Interpretation**: Students will explain certain aspects or parts of a topic, issue, event, experience or idea of importance in the social studies.

Essential Skills and Processes:

- Explain the subject
- Identify relationships
- Make comparisons, or draw logical inferences
- Present logical conclusions.

■ **Issue Analysis**: Students will analyze an issue of importance in the social studies.

Essential Skills and Processes:

- A statement of the issue and its significance
- A description of the significant components of the issue and of the interrelationships among those components.
- Conclusions that are logical and consistent with the analysis

■ **Problem Solving**: Students will state and attempt to solve a problem of importance in social studies.

Essential Skills and Processes:

- A statement of the problem and description of its context
- An identification of specific criteria to be considered in evaluating alternative solutions to the problem
- An identification and evaluation of alternative solutions to the problem
- A reasonable solution consistent with the criteria.

■ **Reasoned Persuasion**: Students will state a position on an issue or subject of importance in social studies and use logic to defend it.

Essential Skills and Processes:

- A statement of the position to be argued
- A presentation of relevant information in support of the position
- A demonstration of logic in support of one's position.

■ **Research/Investigation**: Students will research a subject, issue, event or experience of importance in social studies. Students will conduct research using relevent and appropriate resources, cite those sources, and effectively present their findings.

Essential Skills and Processes:

- A clearly focused research topic or question for inquiry.
- The use of appropriate resources in selecting credible information relevant to a topic
- Organization and analysis of information
- Findings consistent with the analysis of information.
- Citations of the sources used in the research.

Student Reflection: Students reflect on their work by answering s series of questions. For example, for *Reasoned Persuasion*, students might ask the following:

Did I…

- Clearly state what my topic is?
- Describe the context of my topic (who, what, when, where etc.)?
- Tell why my topic is important to others and me?
- State my position clearly and persuasively?

Scoring Rubrics: Students are evaluated on four categories each of which is related to the entry category. They complete a reflection of their work based on the four categories of the rubric:

- Skills and Processes: This feature provides a measure of the student's demonstration of specific skills and processes essential to the entry category.
- Content Evidence and Support: This feature provides a measure of the student's use of information, the accuracy of that information, and its relevance to the topic.
- Communication and Presentation: This feature provides a measure of the student's presentation, including form, clarity, technical accuracy, and ability to communicate for different purposes.
- Conceptual Understanding: This feature provides a measure of how accurately and thoroughly the student understands the concepts, major ideas, or terms integral to a topic.

The CSSASP portfolio process might be illustrated in the following way with a five-step process:

1. **Classroom instruction on democratization efforts in Central Asia.**
2. **Portfolio assessment task**
3. **Students draft, review and revise using their entry checklist**
4. **Students complete reflective summary for their entry.**
5. **Student submit entry**

Some questions to facilitate student reflection:

- What reading, writing, and thinking processes did I use to achieve or demonstrate my skills?
- What are some important things I have learned about myself as a result of creating my portfolio?
- What does my portfolio reveal about me as a learner in social studies?
- What connections are there between the entries in my portfolio and my experiences outside the school?
- How might others view my portfolio entry?

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Title VI Centers with Teacher Resources

Columbia University's East European, Russian and Eurasian National Resource Center offers online lesson plan ideas for Ukraine, Kosovo, and other international topics.

Duke University/University of North Carolina Consortium's Center for Slavic, Eurasian and East European Center offers a variety of internet resources relating to Russia and Eastern Europe, including job and internship opportunities, country information, links to academic organizations and universities with programs relating to the area.

Harvard University's Russian East European and Central Asian Studies National Resource Center offers resources for teaching and learning about Russian, East Europe and Central Asia for K-12 teachers, Professors and the Harvard Community.

Indiana University, Bloomington's Russian and East European Institute offers an Audiovisual and Curriculum Library for Russian and East European Studies.

Ohio State University's Center for Slavic and East European Studies offers lesson plan ideas, films and other audiovisual materials, as well as links to other online resources.

University of Michigan's Center for Russian and East European Studies offers lesson plans and other curriculum resources as well as links to other resources.

Stanford University's Center for Russian and East European Studies offers information on its outreach programs and activities, including some online curriculum ideas

University of California, Berkeley's Center for Slavic and East European Studies teacher outreach page offers links to curriculum, conferences, and other links

University of Chicago's Center for East European, Russian and Eurasian Studies offers access to the library's extensive collection.

University of Kansas' Center for Russian and East European Studies has extensive classroom resources including curriculum online, films and videos.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign's Russian and East European Center has a bibliography, video library, and web resources for K-12 teachers.

University of Pittsburgh's Center for Russian and East European Studies community outreach

has links to the NationalityRooms, model United Nations program, and teacher resources.

University of Texas, Austin's Center for East European, Russian and Eurasian Studies outreach program includes a summary of information, activities and resources designed to be used by teachers at all levels from kindergarten to the 12th grade.

University of Virginia's Center for Russian and East European Studies has information on its programs and links to other resources available online.

University of Washington's Russian East European and Central Asian Center is an information clearing-house on Russian, East European, and Central Asian topics, and provides outreach support for K-12 teachers and college instructors interested in this area of the world. REECAS sponsors several activities to help K-12 teachers to learn about the culture, politics, geography, history, and other aspects of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Curriculum units on the Silk road are of particular interest.

University of Wisconsin, Madison's Russian, East European and Central Asian collections at the library offers access to their extensive resources.

Democracy Education Exchange Project (DEEP)

A good starting place for information about each of the countries listed below is the CIA-World Factbook, which is updated on a regular basis. Needless to say, students and teachers should consult more than one source of information to ensure accuracy.

http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html

PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES

ARMENIA

AZERBAIJAN

CROATIA

CZECH REPUBLIC

ESTONIA

KAZAKHSTAN

LITHUANIA

MOLDOVA

POLAND

RUSSIA

UKRAINE

UZBEKISTAN

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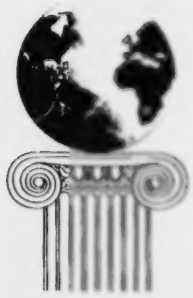

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